6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

friends and neighbors. The people like to see one of their boys get ahead but at the same time are jealous of his success. Consequently he is often the subject of gossip. People like Arrowhead praise him at one time, while at other times they lump him with the "crooks" on the council who see to it that all the benefits go to members of their own families but do nothing for the other people. He is criticized by Sorrel Horse for the conveniences to be found in his home. "Just go call on one of those councilmen. He'll have everything in his house, a radio, TV, a refrigerator, and probably will even have beer in it. He'll tell you that he's worked hard for it. But he hasn't. He tries to live like a white man while we have nothing." Such criticism and gossip soon led me to believe that even the full-blood Blackfeet do not see eye to eye on many things. They differ as to what they want in life, how to get these things, and in their ability to achieve them. Raymond said that there is conflict also between the full-bloods and the mixed-bloods. The latter, who make up roughly three-fourths of the tribal population, are more progressive, according to Raymond. "They try to push things the old folks don't understand. It isn't a caste division, just a mistrust of method and plan."

Many other people I met varied in family backgrounds, in jobs, or in personal appearance from those already discussed, but there were certain basic similarities in attitudes toward themselves and others, similarities of comprehension of, and interest in, Indian ways versus white ways. These characteristics make one person more like Arrowhead, another more like Raymond Black Plume, and yet another more like Joe Renault. There are many others, however, who seem to represent variations of a contrasting way of life.

Carl Hunter, thirty-seven years of age, is ⅜ Blackfeet and the son of mixed-blood parents. He had completed the eighth grade and served two years in the army, eight months of which was in active combat in Korea. His wife is ½ Blackfeet, and they have five children.

Carl owns no land or home of his own. He and his family live with his father, a widower who owns a two-room log cabin built in 1939 under one of the reservation housing programs. This is one of several houses clustered along Blacktail Creek from which the daily water supply is drawn. The home is sparsely furnished. The wood range serves for both cooking and heating. A wooden table and kitchen chairs provide dining and seating facilities. A cot, two double beds, and a crib complete the furnishings. The limited space and the sleeping requirements for eight people allow for little more.

Carl is employed regularly during the time of year (seven months) when work is available. He has worked on the railroad section crew and as a ranch hand, but considers construction labor to be his main occupation. His income is not high, but is steady and sufficient to qualify him for unemployment benefits. His father has land which is leased for grazing and receives a small pension for his years of service as a janitor and caretaker for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This money, pooled with Carl's income, usually carries the family through the winter. Only occasionally is it necessary for the family to apply for welfare assistance.

According to Carl, neither he nor his father have any knowledge of the traditional Blackfeet culture. All of the family have been raised as Catholics. Both his father and mother had attended the Catholic boarding school and stayed to work there for several years—his father as a caretaker and his mother as a cook.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

from what he encounters as he formulates his goals and adopts means to achieve them. Henry, on the other hand, has been socialized to the white pattern. His new dedication to the solution of Indian problems has awakened an interest in Indian traditions. He learns what he can of Indian ways, but has no need to internalize these, or to accommodate to them in his everyday life. Raymond's goal is to make a life by combining what he finds to be the best of both the white and Indian traditions. Henry, whether he realizes it or not, works toward changing the Indian to greater acceptance of white ways. He would retain the symbols and ritual of "being an Indian," but spoke of providing steady work and better education as the bases of change. If these could be gained, he believes, the people would correct other deficiencies. Raymond, on the other hand, emphasizes better housing and improving sanitation first, then jobs and education. To Henry, better homes and sanitation would follow from more jobs and education. Raymond supports the preservation of Indian ways because they have a meaning for him—they are a part of his identity. Henry supports these same things because he feels that the Indian children need the knowledge of their cultural heritage as a psychological support for their feelings of self-worth as they learn to live in the modern world—they need to know that they are not just the "descendants of heathen savages." He wants to set up formal elective courses in the schools to teach Blackfeet history and culture. Raymond, in the meantime, teaches these things to his children and their friends as a part of their childhood training, by story and example. One man is involved objectively and rationally; the other, more subjectively and emotionally.

Henry, because of his experience, has different values and attitudes that have not been changed by intellectual understanding of Indian problems. Two incidents I observed seem to support this. Once during a discussion of housing conditions on Moccasin Flat, Henry expressed the wish that he could get the council to make an appropriation to buy grass and flower seed to give to all the householders in that area. If the council would do this and encourage the people to plant the seeds, he thought, it would make quite a difference in the appearance of the neighborhood and should help get the people interested in the improvement of their homes and yards. I do not think that Raymond would support such a plan. He has neither lawn nor garden; other problems are more pressing in his eyes, other needs more important.

The second incident occurred at a public gathering that I attended with Henry and some of his relatives. A small full-blood boy came up to play with Henry's six-year-old niece. The two children chattered away together, but their play was halted when it began to involve physical contact. A slightly older niece broke up the play remarking: "You can't let those full-blood children touch you. They are dirty and have germs." This reveals a difference in attitudes toward cleanliness and health that reflects a social distance between some members of the reservation population. These are differences in attitudes based on dissimilar backgrounds and experience and in no way raise a question about the sincerity of Henry's concern about Indian welfare. He sees things from one perspective, a viewpoint that might be shared with some of the men I have described, but undoubtedly at odds with the point of view of Buffalo Heart, Arrowhead and Black Plume.

I have shown some of the kinds of people I met on the Blackfeet reserva-

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

2

The Blackfeet Reservation and Its People

Introduction

THE BLACKFEET INDIAN RESERVATION, as a geographical region with definable borders, can be described by the usual environmental concepts. The people who live there, however, cannot be treated so simply, because the population is greater than the membership of the Blackfeet tribe for whom the reservation was established. Both whites (about 3,500) and Indians (about 6,400) live here, and among the latter are found both members of the tribe (about 6,200 of the 10,000 plus tribal enrollment) and nonmembers (about 200).[3] Yet all share many political economic and sociocultural activities that make up the general way of life of this region, the counties within which the reservation lies, the state of Montana, and the United States of America.

This is an American community and it exhibits many of the social and cultural dimensions of such a community. But it differs because it is located on an Indian reservation and the bulk of the population is Indian. These people are Indians in addition to being citizens of the United States, Montana, county and town.

For this reason the discussion is presented in two parts: (1) a description of the geographic, economic, political and social dimensions that are shared by the greatest number of the people of the region; and (2) an examination of the unique and particular cast given to these dimensions because this is a reservation

[3] These and other population figures to follow are estimates based on figures from a variety of sources. Each source, the Census Bureau, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Blackfeet tribe define the population differently. The tribe is concerned with tribal members; the B.I.A. with all Indians on the reservation of ¼ or more Indian descent for some purposes, or with only those Indians who hold trust lands in other cases, which means only Blackfeet but not all Blackfeet Indians. The U.S. Census figures probably include all persons who claim to be Indians, Blackfeet or other, yet may not include, by this definition, some persons who are on the tribal rolls. Land use and other economic figures, too, often differ because the information is reported in common categories, but these categories are given differing definitions.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

operating economic units on land leased from Indian owners. Many more Indian families could be self-supporting on their own land if problems of land ownership, financing, and training are ever solved, yet it is obvious that this land base is insufficient to support the population by ranching and farming alone (McFee 1962:40–41).

Comparable current figures are not available, but it is my impression that little has changed. Fagg & Associates (1970:71) report on 713 families of which 392 have incomes of less than $3,000 (median $2,716). This differs from another 1968 report showing about 62 percent of 1,830 families earning under $3,000 and a median annual income of $1,700 (Blackfeet Indian Reservation—City of Browning "Model City" Application 1968:41).

This does not mean that nothing has changed; it has. The population has increased, some people have improved their lot, and others have fallen on hard times. New ranches and farms have been started, others are in the process of breaking up. The sum of all this, however, is a rather bleak economic picture for the reservation as a whole for which there is no simple explanation. It reflects legal, social, cultural, and historical factors that I will discuss in Chapters 3 and 4.

The reservation and tribal organization bring a member into a further regional political alignment, in many respects akin to a municipal political division. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and subsequent legislation have given to the tribe a broader range of powers than is usually enjoyed by a local jurisdiction. But for a few limitations and some federal review, the tribe is autonomous.

Tribal courts are given jurisdiction over civil and criminal actions brought by an Indian against another Indian. The right of jurisdiction in the case of the "ten major crimes" committed by Indians on Indians reservations has been reserved by the federal courts, but the balance of law and order matters are under tribal control. These are not subject to state or county regulation unless specifically turned over to such authorities, or shared concurrently with them, by an act of the tribal council and by an acceptance of these obligations by the county or state (Federal Indian Law 1958:319).

Non-Indians living on the reservation are subject to county and state laws and enforcement. They are affected, in addition, by tribal regulations. The tribe can regulate land use and impose taxes on nonmembers in the form of business licenses, camping fees, and hunting and fishing fees.

This overlapping jurisdiction in the area of law and order makes for a complex problem of law enforcement and requires guarded cooperation between tribal, county, state, and federal enforcement agencies. A breach of peace or a crime must be analyzed according to where it happened and who was involved in order to determine what level of enforcement has jurisdiction. Do you call the tribal police, the sheriff, the state highway patrol, or perhaps the F.B.I. agent? Actions by other than the correct officers must be sanctioned by immediate or previous agreement among the various governing bodies.

The tribal and federal regulations also affect nonmembers whenever these latter become involved in leases or other financial dealings with Indians, or where nonmembers become a party, injured or the injurer, in legal disputes, crime, or misdemeanors with members of the tribe.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

appropriated to be reimbursed from proceeds of the sale of the surplus reservation lands (U.S. Statutes XXXIV 1907:1015, 1035). Allotment surveys and work on the irrigation projects were carried on during the two years following the enactment of the legislation (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1908:61; 1909:4–5). Irrigation construction provided an additional source of labor and income for many Indians.

The last annuities under the agreement of 1896 were paid in 1908. Henceforth Indian rations and aid were dependent upon tribal income, reimbursable government appropriations, and occasional relief measures. The statistics from the agents' reports for the next few years give a picture of continuing economic progress for the tribe as a whole.

The First World War relieved some of the pressure on reservation resources —good weather and abundant crops prevailed generally until 1917; livestock and produce found a ready market at high prices; and many Blackfeet were drawn into the armed forces, thereby reducing the local labor force. But all of this does not reflect accurately the condition of individuals. A process was going on that was slowly segmenting the population.

First, the population was growing—from 2,063 in 1905 (U.S. Board Ind. Comm. 1905:facing 16) to 2,957 in 1920—and becoming increasingly hybridized. White men were marrying the Indians' daughters. The full-blood Blackfeet loved the grandchildren these marriages produced, but they were "half-breeds," and hard to accept as "real Indians." Of the total, in 1920, less than half, or 1,141 persons, were full-bloods, while the balance were mixed. Among the mixed-blood population, 956 were ½ or less Indian (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1920:67). Secondly, the individually owned herds were growing and the returns from this business were high, but as the superintendent wrote in 1918, 3 percent of the tribe owned 95 percent of the stock when he reported for duty in 1915 (U.S. Congress Sen. Report 451 1918:3). An investigator for the Board of Indian Commissioners, in November of 1918, found that the full-bloods were divided as to their capabilities as stockmen. He reported that "about one-third of the 300 and more full-blood families is incapable of handling cattle." Another third probably could become cattlemen if properly instructed and supervised, and the balance of the full-bloods were doing well at the industry. A number of mixed-bloods had built prosperous looking ranches and had had "marked success at this business" (U.S. Board Ind. Comm. 1918:352–353).

Other forces were already at work that were to alter the uneven progress of the Blackfeet. Beginning in 1917, the Indian Bureau began pressing for the rapid reduction of Indian dependency by the removal of "competent" Indians from trust status (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1917:3–5). By 1920, 1,011 Blackfeet had been awarded fee patent title to 312,250 acres (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1920:171) under a policy that was to result in the alienation of reservation lands and the creation of a large number of landless Indians.

A drought cycle began in 1917 and continued for four years (U.S. Board Ind. Comm. 1921:55; Whetstone 1956:145–146). The end of the war, in 1917, resulted in the loss of markets. The drought and falling prices brought bankruptcy to both cattlemen and farmers in this part of Montana by 1919 and 1920. Veterans

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

The end of the hunting economy made hunting skills obsolete. Migratory seasonal dwelling patterns lost their function. Dependency undermined band and tribal leadership. Warfare and horse raiding were stopped. A man no longer was able to exhibit bravery in the hunt, in war, or on the raid. He no longer could use these means to acquire property with which to display generosity.

Other cultural characteristics were seen to have been under strong pressure. Indian beliefs, religion, ritual, curing practices, and some aspects of social life had been discouraged or outlawed for many years. The acceptance of hospitalization and modern medicine reduced the importance of Indian curing as a channel to prestige. The conversion of many people to Christianity, and the suppression of religious expression and ritual undermined these beliefs and practices. The religious avenues to status were slowly blocked.

Many people remained committed to the old values but were hard pressed to make economic adaptation and at the same time express the traditional values. Generosity could still be practiced, but even this was made difficult under the new conditions. The practice of generosity often blocked the economic success the Indians were asked to achieve. A good and generous man could not hoard his cattle when his family and friends were in need, yet if he was generous with his stock the herd was depleted and his enterprise failed. The qualities that bolstered prestige among the Indian-oriented militated against gaining prestige among the white-oriented, and vice versa.

There is, to be sure, another side to the coin that must be recognized. Reciprocity was important to the survival of the poor. This tended to support and even generate generous behavior, making it difficult for me to decide whether the present stress on generosity is a carry-over from the old days or a response to modern conditions. Probably both factors are present in the patterns of daily reciprocity; cultural persistence seems evident in the rhetoric of generosity and surely most apparent in the give-away ceremonies.

The increased hybridization of the population was noted. This contributed to quite divergent home environments and socialization practices among the tribe.

All of these factors resulted in differing economic, social, and cultural accommodations among the tribal members. A few succeeded and many failed in subsistence endeavors. In varying degrees, some people retained Indian beliefs, practices, and values, while others turned to new ways. Still other members of the tribe, mainly mixed-bloods, learned little or nothing of Blackfeet culture but were socialized in white ways.

Some of the results of these processes were described in Chapter 2. In the following chapters I examine the present community in more detail, to show the type of social organization that has evolved in order to accommodate the varied sociocultural combinations that have developed during eighty-six years of change.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

5

Intratribal Diversity

Introduction

TWO SOCIETIES EACH ORGANIZED AND GUIDED by different and often conflicting cultural directives came into contact, and it was this that set in motion the processes of change reviewed in the previous chapter. The Blackfeet were dependent and subordinate. The institutions involved with Indian affairs were charged to assimilate the Indians, and in this they have been partially successful. The Blackfeet tribe of today is recognizably different from the tribe of the past. Houses have replaced tepees, automobiles and farm machinery have made the horse relatively obsolete. Subsistence is gained within a money economy at ranching, farming, business, services or wage labor. Schools, churchs, and other institutions of the general white society are supported. Most people speak English, all dress like their non-Indian neighbors. Perhaps most surprising is that anything of the traditional Blackfeet culture remains in light of the concerted effort that was made to stamp out these traditions, yet much persists.

It is my thesis that the present Blackfeet tribe represents a bicultural and bisocial community. Albert Buffalo Heart and Henry Rogers represent life styles too divergent to be fitted into one social network, or even into one cultural tradition. Two societies and two cultures remain, localized on the reservation, all embedded in the wider state and national milieu. The larger theme of two societies in contact, interacting and changing, is reproduced on a smaller scale within the tribal membership.

This division appears to be recognized by the people themselves. In the local idiom, people are either "full-bloods" or "mixed-bloods"; or at other times are classed as "real Indians" or "assimilated Indians," but these labels do not cut the tribal membership domain in the same ways. By descent an "assimilated Indian" frequently turns out to be a full-blood, or the "real Indian" is found to be a mixed-blood. Essentially both sets of stereotypes recognize two differing life styles, which at first seem easy to explain as two different responses to change. One group, it

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

might be said, is made up of the "progressive" members of the tribe who have accepted more change than the "conservative" or "traditional" segment, which has resisted change. Anthropologists have sometimes used these labels to describe social divisions within Indian reservation communities. This process of differential acceptance and rejection of change has played a part in the evolution of the Blackfeet community, but other factors have also been at work to further complicate the matter.

One complicating factor is the presence of numerous tribal members of ¼ or less Indian "blood," who cannot be considered as Indians, or as members of families that have become assimilated. In one sense they are Indian only by the grace of one Indian grandparent or great-grandparent. Yet they live on the reservation and play an important part in tribal affairs. At one point I thought I could distinguish three categories: "real Indians," "assimilated Indians," and "Indians by technicality," but the last named do not form a distinct social group. They interact with the "assimilated" people and share a common culture. I gradually came to recognize that there were really two relatively distinct social divisions within the reservation community and named these the *Indian-oriented* and *white-oriented* societies. These cumbersome but appropriate labels recognize the cultural "directions" toward which the people in each group are oriented.

Many interrelated processes have led to this condition. In the preceding chapter culture change was described in terms of the development of the tribe as a whole in response to historical events. Another view of the same events could be taken from the perspective of the individuals who made their own adaptation and accommodation to the changing conditions of daily life. From this position the differential experience of persons with the two cultural systems, in home, school, church, work experience, and travel, seems most important. Of these the socialization experience in the childhood homes looms large when seen in the continuity from child to parent to grandparent back through time to the buffalo days. A few sketches from representative family histories should serve to indicate the complexity of the transmission processes that maintain and perpetuate the two social divisions in the reservation community.

Socialization to White-Orientation

A middle-aged full-blood man, who I shall call Ray Hawkins, told me about his childhood home and training. His parents saw the end of the buffalo days and concluded that the old life was ended. He remembers his father telling him, "The Indian days are gone. In a few years he will be only a thing in a museum that people will pay to see. You must live like our white brothers." His parents took up ranching and brought in a white tutor to teach the children English and other things they needed to prepare them for the new life ahead. Ray recalled that the tutor brought "books, a blackboard, chalk, paper, and pencils and set up a real school with recess and all." The children seldom left the ranch and were not allowed to play with other Indian children. "We were scared of the Indians," this full-blood told me, "If they came near the house we would hide under the bed."

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

bed." Later they were sent to school in Canada. Both his parents and the school stressed the values of hard work, honesty, thrift, and education, and this man and his wife have been guided by these principles in the raising of their own children.

This case represents an abrupt break in the continuity of socialization and is an example of one way by which a full-blood family can move from Indian to white orientation. Missionary and governmental attempts to gain the same result by removing Indian children from their parental homes and into boarding schools failed more often than not. Perhaps the change occurred in this case because the parents had made the choice; they changed their own living style, and withdrew from contact with many of their past kin and social ties. They further insured the change by providing the tutor and the schooling that gave the children the experiences the parents were unable to supply, that prepared them for a way of life so different from what the parents had known.

Other paths to white-orientation are discernible in the life stories of some mixed-bloods. Oscar Swanson is 1/16 Blackfeet and his paternal grandfather was an immigrant from Sweden who came into Montana in the late 1890s as an employee of the railroad. He married a mixed-blood woman and they built a successful cattle ranch. Oscar's father was raised on the ranch and evidently learned very little of the Blackfeet culture from his mother. This seems to have been a common pattern in such marriages, even where the mother was a full-blood. The man was boss, he set the goals for the family and the Indian wife supported these. In some cases the wives were the driving force that made their white husbands successful. Oscar's mother was the daughter of a white family that had come from the midwest to homestead just east of the reservation. She and Oscar's father had gone to school together and were married soon after their eighth grade graduation. These two continued the ranch operation and raised their children in the way of life they both knew. Consequently, Indian traditions, language, and beliefs are strange to Oscar. He is one of the "Indians by technicality" who qualifies for tribal membership because his great-grandmother was a Blackfeet, and he resides on the reservation. Like Robert Thompson, described earlier, he feels that being part Indian has had little effect on him; life would have been much the same if he had been born and raised just off the reservation by white parents. His children, now 1/32 Blackfeet, continue in the patterns of socialization established by their parents and grandparents, yet remain as members of the tribe because they were born prior to the restrictive amendment to the tribal constitution.

Many of the white-oriented members of the tribe are from similar background, but the variations are interesting and show the international influences that have affected reservation life. Anthony Garceau, an elderly cattleman, was the son of mixed-blood parents. His paternal grandfather was a French fur trapper who married a Canadian Cree girl. Their only son, Anthony's father, was raised in a trading post. He went to school for a few years, worked for the trader for a time and then started ranching in southern Saskatchewan. Anthony's mother was born at Fort Benton, the daughter of a Piegan girl who had married another French immigrant fur trader. Her mother died when she was a child, so her father sent her to a convent in Winnipeg where she was raised and educated. At about the age of eighteen she visited friends in Saskatchewan where she met and married

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

177
569

Mr. Garceau. Shortly after Anthony was born, his father died and his mother brought the children to the reservation where she worked in the schools to support them. Neither parent had learned to speak their native Indian languages, so French was the language used in the home. The Garceau children, along with their Blackfeet-speaking friends, learned English in school.

Anthony left school while still in his teens and began ranching on his own. He experienced all the ups and downs of that industry, but rebuilt after each loss and gradually established a successful cattle ranch which he managed until old age and infirmities made it necessary for him to turn the operation over to his sons. His children were raised in a home and educated in schools that provided no influences from traditional Blackfeet culture.

Several other genealogies show a similar history indicating that people from many parts of Europe and the United States have contributed to the genetic and cultural mix that makes up the present Blackfeet tribe.

Another successful white-oriented rancher, Harry Wilson, recalled that

> My grandfather, old man Wilson, originally came from England. He was in the army sent out to Alberta to pacify the Indians. He married a daughter of one of the chiefs he had fought against. Later he moved the family to Fort Benton where he set up a trading post. My father was raised there and came to the reservation just after the turn of the century, where he married my mother, a white woman.

This man, again, was one of a second generation of mixed-marriages where the white parent stayed to direct the training of the children to ranch life. But Harry had an experience not shared by others of his family. His paternal grandfather died, after which his grandmother married a Blood Indian and went to live with him in Alberta. Harry went to visit them when he was still a young boy and stayed for three years, where he became a favorite of his stepgrandfather who set out to make him a medicine man. He learned much of the lore, customs and ritual from the old man and was allowed to participate in many of the ceremonies. He remembers that by the time he came home he could speak Blackfeet fluently and had almost forgotten how to speak English. He inherited many of the old man's things and remembers much of what he learned during that visit. Harry learned to appreciate the Indian traditions and he retains an empathy with and understanding of the Indian-oriented that allows him to participate legitimately in some of the rituals.

After his return home, he entered again into white-oriented life, became a successful rancher both on and off the reservation, has held political offices and been a 4-H leader. He married a white woman and they have had five children all of whom have been raised in white ways. This family too is listed on the tribal roll and those who have remained on the reservation play a part in reservation life.

Harry's experience in two traditions has not been unique among the white-oriented of his generation. Two cases come to mind where the mothers of children in their teens were remarried to full-blood men following the death of their white husbands. In these cases the children had an opportunity, which some of them

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

took, to participate in Indian-oriented activities and to learn from their stepfather and his friends of Indian traditions. The two people I knew had learned the language and established recognized positions within the Indian-oriented society. They work with the Indians, dance with them, and often play a part in the rituals, yet, in balance, remain white-oriented in belief, values, and life-style. Such people are effective mediators between the two divisions and able interpreters of the Indian to the whites.

The experiences of many other mixed-blood families parallel in general those that I have described. They begin with the marriage of one white and one Indian parent who train their children to white ways. There are numerous variations in the details of subsequent marriages and experiences: children in the second generation frequently married mixed-blood spouses whose background was similar to their own instead of continuing a series of marriages to whites, as was done in the cases cited. The occupations chosen and the relative success or failure of these differed widely too. They share one basic element, however, over several generations the socialization patterns have been those of the dominant society and this has produced white-oriented tribal members.

Socialization to Indian-Orientation

The main avenue to present-day Indian-orientation has been the continuity of socialization to traditional ways modified by the attempts of the parents in each generation to cope with changing conditions and by each person's experiences with school, church, agency, and neighbors. Typical family histories are hard to find. Indian-oriented people were faced with many more options than the white-oriented. White-oriented families knew and were committed to the goals of financial independence; they were familiar with and supported what was taught in the schools and churches and knew what farming, ranching and business were all about. Most of the Indian-oriented, on the other hand, were from families where the things the parents and grandparents knew and understood did not fit the times. People in each generation learned bits and pieces of two traditions and had to learn which behavior, old or new, was appropriate depending on the circumstances. They were involved in the experiments with new subsistence techniques, in experiments that more often than not failed to produce a reliable and meaningful economic base for family and personal development. The following cases can only suggest some themes common to the backgrounds of the Indian-oriented people.

James Red Robe was born to full-blood parents in 1920. His childhood memories are of living in a cabin on Little Badger Creek, where his parents were raising potatoes, vegetables, chicken, and sheep under Agent Campbell's "Five Year Plan." He and his brothers and sisters were raised here and completed the eighth grade in the neighborhood school where they learned to speak and read English.

James' father, Harry Red Robe, and his mother were both born in 1890, and had lived through the trials of readaptation after the end of the buffalo days. Both parents became Catholics and had a few years of sporadic schooling, but

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

The Indian-oriented group includes mixed-bloods too. Several people registered as ⅞, ¾, and ⅝ Blackfeet include an English or French trader or trapper in their genealogies. In these cases, however, whether married or not, the white grand- or great-grandparent either died or left his family when the children were very young. The mother returned to her family where she and her kinsmen raised the children in traditional ways. These children usually married full-bloods and socialized their children to be Indian-oriented. People with these backgrounds are essentially Indians who happen to have had a white grandfather or great-grandfather. The white man did not remain as a guide or model to teach his descendants anything about white culture.

Not all men and women from such backgrounds end up as Indian-oriented. At each generation there have been those who turned to the new and tended to forget or failed to learn much of Indian culture. Some left the reservation and became assimilated, some remained on the reservation as white-oriented, but many others who made such a break, often as they approached middle age, have either rejected the white world or felt rejected by it and returned to resume or relearn the old and now more highly valued Indian cultural patterns.

Analysis

These few examples of socialization experience leading to one or the other cultural orientation seem to show some common features. Parents teach their children what they know and believe. Where a parent was white-oriented and remained to direct the training of his children, or provided a teacher and model to the same end, the children tended to become white-oriented. Bruner (1956: 608–609) considered the presence of a "white model" to have been an important factor in the assimilation of the Mandan Indians. Where the experience of the parents, what they knew and believed, was from the Indian culture, this was transmitted to the children. Where the parents seem uncertain about what their children should be, as James now is, the next generation may be ill-prepared for a place in either group unless their peers, a teacher, or some elder provides a model or guidance that will give the children goals they now appear to lack.

These examples show, too, the complexity of the processes that underlie the present social diversity. The assimilation model held in the minds of administrators, priests, ministers, and teachers appears to have been one in which an Indian couple raised their children as Indians, the school and church changed or altered these children toward assimilation goals, and these upon becoming parents, moved their children even further toward that assimilation. Such a progression has occurred and some present tribal members are white-oriented because their family histories have followed such a course, but many other paths have been followed. Some tribal members are white-oriented because they were raised in families where there had been few or no traits of Indian culture to transmit, others had moved in one or two generations from Indian cultural backgrounds to a white-oriented life style and commitment. Other tribal members are Indian-oriented because members of their families have resisted assimilation, have sought to retain some things from the past even as they accepted some aspects of white culture. There are other

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

541 in by bus; children from Starr School and other nearby neighborhoods came in cars driven by a teacher or parent to join in the search with the youngsters of Browning.

Members of the Browning Youth Club and the American Legion had distributed quantities of eggs, which had been boiled and colored by school children, in the furrows and stubble of the forty acre field. Some of the eggs were marked and cash awards were given to the finders of the special eggs. Prizes, donated by service clubs and local merchants, were given also for the most eggs collected by one child and to the runners-up.

541 177 This was a large area and people arrived at irregular intervals. Many watched from their cars, others moved about the periphery of the field, making an accurate count of the adults difficult, but it was apparent that the majority of those present were white and white-oriented people. Indian-oriented parents were few and even the Indian-oriented political leaders were absent.

541 The Fishing Derbies I witnessed drew a much smaller crowd, approximately two hundred children and sixty adults. The contests are held at a small lake adjacent to U.S. Route 2 a few miles southwest of Browning. The children fish along the shore, while the parents help with putting on bait and removing the fish that are caught. They cheer the children on, visit with each other, set up picnics, and [177] eat. Everybody has a good time when a Fishing Derby is sponsored. An estimated third of the children taking part in these contests were from Indian-oriented families, yet only four or five Indian-oriented adults were in attendance.

575 542 177 In the realm of semiprivate interaction are included civic club meetings and bowling tournaments. The informants and the newspaper reports indicate an almost completely white-oriented participation in these activities.

575 177 Civic club membership is selective and based upon business, school, or political leadership. The selection factors are many and complex but it is clear that very few Indian-oriented people belong to these organizations—these are areas of predominantly white-oriented interaction.

542 177 574 Newspaper reports indicate that selective factors operate to maintain a predominantly white and white-oriented participation, particularly in team and tournament play, at the bowling alley. Factors of social selection also work in private gatherings and visiting patterns between families and friends. The bonds of kinship draw some of the Indian-oriented into the visiting patterns of white-oriented people, but these occasions are infrequent. Economic and status factors also appear to be important determinants of Indian-oriented participation in private activities.

Other Social Expressions of Orientation

563 177 The social division of the community that I am describing is given overt, but inexact, recognition by the use of the labels—"mixed-blood" and "full-blood." These "racial" stereotypes are used in many contexts but in most cases point up a division in culture that is only partially related to the number of Indian ancestors of any individual.

Ewers remarked on the rapid hybridization of the tribe and the decreasing

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

numbers of full-bloods, and he noted the tendency for the latter to consider themselves to be "the real Blackfoot Indians—the true descendants of the great warriors and wise leaders of old and the preservers of all that is left of Blackfoot Indian culture" (Ewers 1958:328). According to the stereotype, the full-blood is conservative and the mixed-blood progressive. The surnames of the people still further label the difference—an English, French, or American name implies mixed genetic heritage, while the Indian name (in its agency recorded translation) is a badge of Indian heritage.

There are some grounds to support a popular notion of spatial separation of the two groups. Generally the lands north of Browning are thought to be mixed-blood territory and the full-bloods claim the southern part of the reservation. Recent migrations of people have upset this balance but the idea lingers on as an element in social separation. An increasing community feeling among concentrations of full-bloods at Starr School and Heart Butte, and some spatial clustering in Browning, is tending to replace the old regional division. Mixed marriages and shifting populations, however, are breaking down even these full-blood strongholds.

The full-blood-mixed-blood distinction is not equivalent to my categories of Indian and white orientations. Of the eight Indian-oriented men in my sample, only four are full-bloods, while one full-blood is categorized among the twenty white-oriented people. But the popular full-blood and mixed-blood labels gain some validity when it is noted that the Indian-oriented of the sample are all ¾ or more Indian, while the white-oriented men are, with the one exception, ⅜ or less.

Such stereotypes produce conflicts. A series of statements by informants illustrate the mechanisms of social distance that appear to be important in limiting close social interaction between people of the two orientation groups.

For example, "Full-bloods hate mixed-bloods. They are tainted with the blood of those who robbed and ruined the Indian."

An informant overheard a mixed-blood girl complain, "They [full-bloods] are to blame. In the old days when things were bad they sold their daughters to the white men. Now they hate us."

A mixed-blood man said, "Full-bloods hate the mixed-bloods and would like to run them off the reservation. They get confused when I ask them, How about that white son-in-law of yours and your grandchildren? They finally decided that those were all right."

One man observed that little social distinction is felt by the children until they reach the upper grades. Then the more Indian children develop feelings of inferiority and inadequacy and drop out of school. "Much of the school problem is social," he said, "You see a bunch of grade school kids playing, mixed white and Indian, and you stop and ask them who is white and who is Indian? They just stare at you. The question doesn't make sense. At high school things begin to show up. Mostly social. The kids begin to want to invite each other to affairs at home. They begin to notice that they haven't the kind of clothes others do. They begin to feel they can't participate and drop out."

A recent high school graduate (mixed-blood, white-oriented) could offer no explanation of full-blood problems in the schools, either scholastic or social.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

He neither knew what the "Indian" boys in his class did or thought, nor could he say what had caused others he had known in the lower grades to drop out. His father (mixed-blood, businessman and active in community service) explained this: "He doesn't go around with those fellows."

"The full-bloods are forgotten. The half-breeds up north are running things for their own benefit."—a full-blood.

"Full-bloods probably expect to be discriminated against. They realize that they are in a different class, so act that way and so are discriminated against. They tend to stay by themselves."—a mixed-blood.

"There is conflict between the full-bloods and the 'breeds.' The latter are more progressive. They try to push things the old folks don't understand. It's not a caste division, just a mistrust of methods and plans."—a full-blood.

Numerous factors are at work here—historical, economic, political and cultural. The elements of status and values that underlie these attitudes will be examined further in the following chapters. The accounts are offered here to indicate that a bicultural division is recognized by the people themselves, that the two groups have been stereotyped and labeled, and that both spatial and social separation have been attributed to these groups. One consequence has been a curtailment of social interaction between members of the two societies.

The concepts of cultural orientation cannot be confused with the stereotypes. The real division is cultural. Orientational differences however tend to produce behaviors frequently attributed to the stereotype. "Full-blood" behavior in many dimensions is the behavior of an Indian-oriented person. People who are Indian-oriented, regardless of genetic heritage or degree of acculturation toward American life, will adopt practices that others attribute to "Indians." Then too it must be remembered that orientations are not indelible labels to apply to individuals, but rather are indicative of social structure. They stand for social categories for which there are predictable behavioral expectations, norms, and underlying values. Individuals can move from one category to another by conforming to the proper set of norms and expressing the values common to that category. The degree of Indian "blood" does not "tell."

Summary

I have tried to show that the Indian-oriented and white-oriented people engage in social interaction most frequently with members of their own group. A series of public, formal and informal, social situations was reviewed, some of which were attended predominantly by Indian-oriented people, others by white. Another list of public gatherings was given in which attendance from the two groups was relatively equal. It was shown further that informal grouping at these affairs tended to be with people of like orientation. An additional tendency for limitations upon intergroup sociality was observed in informal and private entertaining and visiting, and the overt recognition of this social separation was commented upon.

The key to these attendance patterns seems to lie in the kinds of social

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

istic care and these have created some problems. Some of the hamlets, particularly Heart Butte, are so dependent on tribal and governmental help that the people could not exist there without it. One result of termination would be that the people in Heart Butte would lose their remaining lands and be forced to move. This move would take them into slum areas of Browning or Great Falls, and fully on the welfare rolls of those communities. The new economic base must be secured before the trust protection can be removed.

The Blackfeet complain about the bureau but fear the alternatives more. Some of their leaders think the best move would be to let Indians assume administrative positions in the bureau where they could have more say about what should be done and how to do it. This, they say, "would hold the wolves at bay, while we work out our problems."

Termination is just one more product of the red man's burden—the white man problem. Not only have the white men taken over most of the land, the authority, and decision making powers about Blackfeet life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness, but they have married into the tribe as well. All these influences have produced, among other things, white-oriented tribal members. White people remain a problem on the reservation, some more of a problem than others. The white merchants, ranchers, and farmers, at least, are known; some are good friends. Their roles are familiar and for better or for worse predictable patterns of interaction have been established. White Bureau of Indian Affairs employees usually fit into known patterns too. Their roles are known and people recognize that some will visit with them, become friends and help out in community affairs, while others will remain aloof. Public Health Service employees are less well known. Most, with a few appreciated exceptions, come and go more frequently than do the bureau employees. They tend to remain isolated in their own residential area, and rarely enter into the economic and social life of the community.

It has been my experience that white people living around the reservation tend to be more hostile to the Blackfeet than those who live further away. The Blackfeet know, and often dislike, the established relationships in the neighboring off reservation towns. These feelings are unfortunate. People of very similar backgrounds and interests are prevented from establishing what could be very congenial friendships if these attitudes did not prevail. More Blackfeet would find off reservation jobs available if their white neighbors could exercise their biases more selectively. White-oriented tribal members, too, often lose touch with the Indian-oriented, stereotype them and, as a consequence, are branded in return with the white man stereotype.

Then there is the white tourist: a whole industry is being planned to attract greater numbers of them and their money to the reservation, yet all tourists are not loved. Too many American tourists do not know what to expect of Indians, or arrive with wrong expectations so firmly fixed that they cannot learn from experience. Too many look for the movie or comic strip Indian, the "noble red man" in buckskins or feathers who says "How" and talks about "bucks" and "squaws" and "papooses," and is considered to be either inordinately wise and taciturn or somewhat short on intelligence. Others seem to expect to find illiterate people living in squalor and filth. They may find some of what they expect. Some Indians dress

TABLE 24. FUNDING OF BLACKFEET INDIAN SCHOOLS, 1960-61

Number of meals served indigent Blackfeet Indian children	93,639
Federal funds distributed to schools on the Blackfeet Reservation	$192,078
Montana reimbursements to schools for lunches	$ 24,994

Data upon the total number of Blackfeet Indians living on the Blackfeet Reservation who are attending college are not available. The number, however, is known to be quite small. "Indian Scholarships" from the State of Montana, in a limited number, are available for Indian students attending Montana state-supported schools of higher education. The number of Blackfeet Indian students who are recipients of the above scholarships totals nine.

The number of Blackfeet Indians who are enrolled in college correspondence courses or otherwise pursuing their post-high school education is also unknown, but it is believed that the number is quite small.

Observations

The Blackfeet Agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Blackfeet Tribal Council have, through the years, developed many programs to assist the agricultural development of the Reservation. Their accomplishments have been great, but much yet remains to be done.

1. The agricultural economic alternatives for the Blackfeet Indian Reservation are a great deal more limited than those existing for certain other areas in the United States. The Reservation, however, does possess certain natural advantages (excellent range land and irrigation water) which give it the potential, presently not fully utilized, of being competitively highly successful in livestock production and in dry-land small grain production. In this connection, Bulletins 522, 542 and 555 of the Montana Agricultural Experiment Station are required reading for anyone seriously interested in Blackfeet Indian agriculture.

2. Relatively few Blackfeet Indians are presently interested in dry-land small grain production. It is estimated that 90 percent of the wheat and barley produced on the Reservation is raised by non-Indians.

3. The Blackfeet Indians are very interested in competitive, commercial livestock production.

4. It is well recognized by individual Blackfeet Indians, the Blackfeet Tribal Council, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Montana State College that, under existing conditions, a herd of 150 cattle is the minimum number to form a competitive economic unit.

5. Securing adequate financing for an economic herd of cattle is a serious, limiting factor in the development of cattle ranching by the Blackfeet Indians.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

index fails to point out the number of Indians who had virtually no earned income, or the number of successful Indians whose earnings from livestock operations or wages far exceeded the family average.

It is difficult to generalize on the subject of Blackfoot Indian economic progress during the first half of the twentieth century. Certainly the rapid progress toward self-support which their white friends prophesied for these Indians at the turn of the century did not materialize. One of the causes for this failure was surely the lack of any consistent government policy for these people. The vacillating policy of alternately encouraging the Indians to farm, then to raise livestock, was confusing to the Indians who participated in these programs. It was not surprising that many of them lost enthusiasm for government-sponsored programs presented as panaceas for their economic ills.

Indians, like other people, vary in individual ability, initiative, and diligence. Some became discouraged as a result of early failures, and lost heart. Others profited from those experiences and tried to work all the harder. So economic success or failure has been more of an individual than a tribal matter. Before the middle of the century, many of the Blackfoot Indians did "learn to walk alone." Many others are no better off economically than were their fathers or grandfathers half a century ago.

The most remarkable trend in the history of these Indians during the first half of this century has been the rapid growth in the mixed-blood element of the population. As recently as 1910, fullbloods comprised a majority of the tribal membership. In the next two decades the numbers of the mixed-bloods nearly doubled, while the full-blood population decreased by more than 15 per cent. By 1930 the mixed-bloods comprised two-thirds of the Indian population of the reservation and nearly three-quarters of the most vigorous portion of that population—those under forty years of age.[16] By mid-century the mixed-bloods numbered 85 per cent of the tribal membership of nearly six

[16] *The Indian Population of the United States and Alaska, 1930*, U. S. Bureau of Census, 73, 76.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

thousand souls.[17] Their numbers were increasing at a rate several times higher than that of the national population as a whole. Meanwhile, the full-blood population continued to decline. They numbered 903 in 1950, less than 80 per cent of their total forty years earlier.

This rapid rise of the racially marginal mixed-bloods greatly accelerated the processes of acculturation among the majority of members of the tribe. Many of them were brought up in homes in which the English language was spoken and where the father could read and write. When they went to school, they were prepared to take advantage of their educational opportunities. Their experience with white men's values both at home and in school caused them to think and act more like whites than Indians. Traditional Indian customs held little appeal for many of them.

Better housed, better fed on a more adequate and more varied diet, better observers of the fundamental rules of sanitation, the mixed-bloods have been physically stronger than the fullbloods and better able to resist disease.

Better educated, the mixed-bloods have been better prepared to accept a greater variety of employment requiring specialized skills, understanding of written instructions, and legal contracts. Neither by name nor by physical features do many of these people reveal their Indian ancestry. They have not encountered the anti-Indian prejudice that has handicapped fullbloods in obtaining and holding permanent jobs in predominantly white off-reservation communities.

It is not surprising that members of this more progressive, acculturated mixed-blood majority have dominated the Tribal Council on the Blackfeet Reservation. Nor is it surprising that the fullbloods should feel that their interests have not been adequately represented in the council of their tribe.

The fullbloods, particularly the middle-aged and older members of this faction, have fallen farther and farther behind the

[17] *Compilation of Material Relating to the Indians of the United States and Alaska*, U. S. House of Representatives, Serial No. 30, 1950, 736.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

ambitious, aggressive mixed-bloods. Reared in conservative homes where both parents spoke little or no English, many of them had difficulty in comprehending their white school teachers. They were embarrassed by their slow progress in comparison with their mixed-blood classmates and dropped out of school at an early age, qualified for no employment other than that of unskilled laborers. Most of the fullbloods were poorly housed, poorly fed on a limited diet of meat, bread, and coffee, and knew little of the basic rules of sanitation. Tuberculosis was so prevalent among the fullbloods in 1905 that the agency physician feared it might lead to their extinction.[18] Deaths from this disease have declined, but tuberculosis still takes a heavy toll of the lives of the fullbloods and others with a high degree of Indian blood. Many of these people have been handicapped by trachoma and plagued by ill health. Yet they have preferred to entrust their lives to the traditional medicine man rather than to call upon the agency doctor.

Among the fullbloods and those of a high degree of Indian blood who have been raised in conservative homes are found the skilled workers in traditional crafts, the owners of medicine bundles, and the participants and leaders in the sun dance. Many of them may be readily recognized by their moccasined feet, their long, braided hair, and their red-painted faces. Although the ranks of these true conservatives have been diminishing, their number has been augmented by adult fullbloods who have tried to follow the white man's way but have lost heart as they approached or reached middle age.

These fullbloods, who have become a small minority among their own people, are fiercely proud of their race. They regard themselves as the *real* Blackfoot Indians—the true descendants of the great warriors and wise leaders of old and the preservers of all that is left of Blackfoot Indian culture.

[18] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1905, 237.

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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Another difference among the three tribes can be traced to the fur trade. On the American side the trading posts were in the heart of Piegan country. This made for the growth of a half-breed population among the Piegan which has increased up to the present day. In Canada the posts were almost without exception north of Blackfoot country and the half-breed settlements at Edmonton for example consisted mainly of Crees. As a result the Blackfoot and Blood were less subject to the infiltration of white values and were independent right up to the last.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

to select mates from their own circles. The poor married each other; half-breeds married half-breeds[150] or orphaned members of the tribe. Sometimes, it is true, an ambitious but poor young man succeeded in marrying a wealthy but considerably older woman; sometimes a father of a poor but beautiful daughter succeeded in marrying her off to a wealthy husband; sometimes a rich herder preferred a poor son-in-law whose labor he could exploit. But the lines remained clearly drawn. Rarely were the "newly rich" able to crash the "old society."

Today another trend is visible. Numerous marriages have taken place between the children of the "newly rich" and the children of those cattle-breeding families who went into farming around 1910. These are the families that have cash incomes, good houses, good clothes, good automobiles. It is now the impoverished horse owner who is the undesirable. His children are marrying the poor and the orphaned.[151]

SUMMARY.—After a decade of prosperity, an accident of climate created a social upheaval among the Blood. The cold winters of 1919 and 1920 practically annihilated the cattle and reduced the erstwhile successful herder to penury, at least in terms of a money economy. But he still possessed sufficient horse wealth to validate his prestige as he had always done. His waning security, however, led to a compulsive buying of privilege, more particularly in the Horn Society, whose members' power to sorcerize may well have been an added inducement during this time of deprivation.[152]

The farmers suffered also, but only temporarily. With their profits from wheat they bought up the few remaining cattle, and made no effort to compete for recognition with their few horses. They continued to improve their land and buildings, to furnish their houses comfortably, to dress their wives and children in style. The drought and depression of the early thirties, however, forced many of them on the relief rolls of the agency. Discouraged they have ceased to cultivate their crops. Today, the better land is being concentrated in the hands of the few.

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[150] Most of the half-breeds on the Blood Reserve are the children of Indian women and white traders (see story of Revenge Walker, p. 11). They are known by the name of their father (Creighton, Davis, Gladstone, Beebe, etc.).

[151] No formal statistics on marriages were collected, but the present statement of trends seems justified by remarks of informants, direct observation, and an examination of marriages recorded by the agency census.

[152] Clyde Kluckhohn, *Navajo Witchcraft*. Discussing a rise in the last two years "in the number of persons whom gossip accuses as witches," he writes: "While this increase . . . may also be connected with the relative economic prosperity of this interval, I am inclined to regard both the witchcraft and the ceremonial phenomena as alternative responses directed toward the preservation of a badly disturbed equilibrium." Cf. also A. I. Hallowell, *Psychological Characteristics of the Northeastern Indians*, MSS.

A. [See Categories 578 and 621--Analyst]

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

If the manly-hearted woman is regarded as a product of established and traditional wealth, "Miss Wells' girls" illustrate the possibility for mobility within the more recent society. Half-breeds, most of them, and without inher ted property, these "girls," now in their late forties, were sent to school at an early age and only rarely spent their holidays with their Indian relatives. When other children returned to their parents, this unwanted group went off with their teacher to a summer camp where they worked and experimented in cooperative living. Miss Wells understood her girls. She mothered them and imbued them with enthusiasm for white ways. They, in turn, loved and respected her. Today these "girls" are the most progressive women of their generation—and the most ambitious. Several assisted at the school after "graduation." One earned her living as a dressmaker in a white community. Later she returned to become the first and only independent woman farmer on the reserve. It is to this group that the up-and-coming wheat farmers, mostly half-breeds themselves, have looked for wives. These farmers are now the "newly rich," and two of them have been elected band chiefs.

Many women enjoy independent earnings, but these have never been great enough to radically affect their social status. Now, as in the past, vertical mobility is achieved through advantageous marriage. Marriage, however, plays a lesser rôle in the life of the woman of wealth. A union with the son of a rich family naturally cements her position; but a union with a poor man does not, ipso facto, lower it. On the contrary, her property can be used to enhance his earning power and prestige. If he is industrious, both will gain; if he proves unsatisfactory, she can cast him off and with little difficulty find a more deserving mate. Few women, however, have much property. Most of them, despite the privileges they enjoy, shine in reflected glory in this dominantly masculine society. In childhood, their status depends upon their fathers' status, in adulthood, upon their husbands'. Significantly, and in contrast to feminist practice in the Pueblos, a Blood woman is always known after marriage by her husband's name.

JEALOUSY.—While this male dominance is indisputable, it gives small comfort to the man on the reserve, for jealousy is one of the most disruptive forces in Blood human relations. The woman is still considered a form of property, property that is as necessary to success today as it was in the polygamous past. Then the younger wives were known as "uncertain wives," and lapses in matrimonial duty received summary and harsh treatment. Writing in 1832, Maximilian comments, "They generally punish infidelity in their wives very severely, cutting off their noses in such cases.... When ten or twelve tents were together, we were sure to see six or seven women mutilated in this manner.... There have been frequent instances of a husband immediately killing his wife, when she had had intercourse with

co-ops, as it must be remembered that farming families and non-families in multiple-family households were, with a single exception, farming cooperatively. Only one family, a dependent nuclear family, farmed without aid from the complementary family in multiple-family households, all others in such households worked together to use their cultivated acres so far as I could determine from the survey records. The relationship posited in Table 9 is very strong and significant.

Racial Composition of Farmers and Ranchers--
Old Agency District

I now analyze the number of acres cultivated and the racial composition of farmers to determine if there is a correlation between these two variables. This analysis will yield information about who was exploiting the largest share of the cultivated acres.

There were 79 heads of farming households for whom racial composition data were given in the survey records. Forty-two of them were full-bloods (53 per cent), fifteen were one-half bloods (18 per cent), nine were whites (13 per cent), and the remaining thirteen were one-fourth Indian (5), three-quarters Indian (3), one-eight Indian (2), five-eighths Indian (1), three-eighths Indian (1), and fifteen-sixteenths Indian (1).

The 79 farming household heads cultivated a total of 1,446 acres. The breakdown of percentages of acres cultivated by racial composition of farming household heads shows that (in order of average acres) one-eighths blood farmers cultivated 175 acres, or an average of 87.5 acres; the nine White farmers 467 acres, or 52 acres each

(range: 17.5 to 153 acres), the fifteen one-half bloods 630 acres or 42 acres each (range: 3 to 235), five one-quarter bloods 33 acres, or 6.6 acres per farmer (range: 1 to 20 acres), the single five-eighths blood and the single three-eighths blood ten acres each, the three three-quarters blood six acres each and the single fifteen-sixteenths blood cultivated five acres each. The 42 full blood farming household heads farmed an aggregate of 103 acres, or 2.5 acres per farmer (range: three-quarters of an acre to 10 acres).

Chart I shows the differential representation between acres cultivated and racial composition of farming household heads.

As can be seen in the chart, those who were one-half or less Indian account for 90 per cent of the acreage (1,300 of 1,446) and these farmers make up but 40 per cent of the 79 farmers (32 of 79). The nine White farmers (ten per cent of farmers) used 33 per cent of the cultivated land. Also, if one considers the combination of White with one-eights bloods (eleven farmers, or sixteen per cent of farmers) we see that these account for 46 per cent of all cultivated acres (642 of 1,446).

It must be remembered here that all tribal members were allotted the same number of acres, including, of course, the allotted Indian wives of White farmers. Between 1908 and 1912, the allotment years, each tribal member was given the option of receiving 320 acres of grazing land or 280 acres of grazing land and 40 acres of farm land. Most chose grazing land, according to Evers (1954). However, by 1920 more than 200,000 acres had been purchased largely by White men, often

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 84]

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

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592
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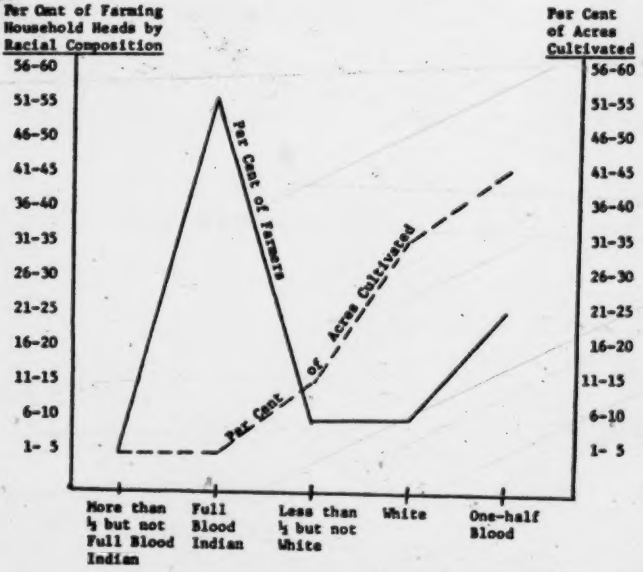
Chart I

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF FARMING HOUSEHOLD HEADS AND ACRES CULTIVATED, 79 FARMERS, 1,446 ACRES, OLD AGENCY DISTRICT, 1921



_ _ _ _ _ = Trend line indicating Per Cent of Acres Cultivated

_____ = Trend line indicating Per Cent of Farmers

through fraudulent means, from Indians who had received fee patents on their land. This occurred within just two years following the issuance of fee patents. How many Heart Butte and Old Agency District tribal members had sold out by 1921 I do not know.

Evers argues that many full-bloods did not wish to farm and did not choose to receive, through allotment, land located within the reach of irrigation canals constructed at the turn of the century. Although Evers' assertions are undoubtedly valid, we see from the data presented here for the Old Agency District that many full-bloods did attempt to farm during the Five-Year agricultural program (they made up over half the total farmers). It is apparent from the figures given here that white farmers married to allotted Blackfeet women generally used their business and agricultural acumen to make the best of acreages available to them; this applies to one-half blood Indian farmers as well for they too made considerably more use of land. The full-bloods, presumably generally less experienced, could not or did not enlarge their operations. The differential use, or denial of, access to resources left the full-bloods clearly at the bottom.

One can well imagine some of the full-blood Indians' reactions to Campbell's interviews and program. Language was one obvious barrier, as the survey records indicated, but hostility and timidity were likely important in full-bloods' reluctance to push aggressively for more seed and equipment. Campbell (1921) occasionally threatened those who did not comply with his demands for participation in the program with withdrawal of annuities (which all tribal members had a right to receive).

241 We have seen, however, the measures taken by many farmers, full-blood Indians and otherwise, to utilize land and equipment (the many small co-ops attest to this).

241 311 Yet even the most prosperous farmers did not utilize acreages comparable to the average for the Mountain States in 1920, which was 481 acres for the average farm (Nelson 1954). This is twice the size (434) of the largest farm in the Old Agency District. It seems likely that very few of the farmers in the district realized cash returns from their meager enterprises; the full-bloods and near full-bloods managed at best to provide basic stores for their families.

241 311 563 Table 10 further tests the hypothesis that degree of Blackfeet blood (or degree of White ancestry) is strongly associated with the number of acres cultivated by each household. The following contingency table is set up to demonstrate that those allottees or spouses of allottees who were one-half or less Blackfeet were more likely to have

241 311 563 128 had eleven or more acres under cultivation. The table makes a test of only those who were involved in farming and excludes those who were not farming or ranching in the Old Agency District. Eleven acres, although meager, serve as a telling and sharp cut-off point between two racial groups and the extent of their farming efforts. The relationship posited is positive, strong and significant.

For all heads, whether engaged in farming or not, the following contingency table, Table 11, shows the strong relationships between number of acres cultivated and racial ancestry. Eight acres, used here as a cut-off point, takes in more farmers and provides an additional

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86]

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128

Table 10

DEGREE OF BLACKFEET BLOOD AND ACRES CULTIVATED, 45 HOUSEHOLD HEADS, OLD AGENCY DISTRICT, 1921

	11 or More Acres	Less Than 11 Acres	
One-half or Less Blackfeet	17	7	24
More than One-half	1	20	21
	18	27	45

$\gamma_c = .452$; $\chi^2 = 18.29$; P .001

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

Table 11

DEGREE OF BLACKFEET BLOOD AND ACRES CULTIVATED, OLD AGENCY DISTRICT, 77 HOUSEHOLD HEADS, 1921

311
24
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128

	8 or More Acres Cultivated	Fewer Than 8 Acres Cultivated	
One-half or Less Blackfeet	26	13	39
More than One-half	2	36	38
	28	49	77

$\gamma_c = .411$; $\chi^2 = 30.6$, P .001

241
311
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point of departure between race and farming. It serves to demonstrate how sharply the racial groups cluster on the basis of acres cultivated. The posited relationship is again positive, strong, and significant.

To further explicate this obvious trend, I note that of the eighteen farming families who cultivated eleven or more acres each seventeen were one-half Blackfeet or less and of these, seven Whites managed the seven largest farms. In addition, of 669 cattle listed in the survey, white rancher-farmers owned 385, those who were one-quarter Blackfeet owned 234, and the one-half bloods possessed the remaining 30. Of the 76 sheep recorded, white ranchers had 42 and a one-half blood male and his family had the remaining 34.

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White men married to Blackfeet women clearly managed the best farms and ranches. Usually, indeed, in almost all cases, the land was in trust status which would, without a marriage union, be inaccessible to these whites. I do not know what characteristics these people possessed to account for their relative success. Two possibilities permit some indirect suppositions along with the factors already mentioned: the persons with White ancestry must obviously have had greater acquaintance with farming and ranching procedures, techniques, and financing, and were likely to encounter less difficulty in securing loans for equipment, seed and feed; secondly, the white ranchers and farmers were located predominantly along the two creeks that seemed to afford the greatest and most productive opportunities for at least marginally successful operations--Lower Birch Creek and Two Medicine.

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241 Of the nine males married to allotted Blackfeet women, six managed acreages on Birch Creek and three on Lower Two Medicine. The farming and ranching operations between the two locations were relatively prosperous and show no major difference in the number of acres under control or cattle kept, as is shown in the following table (Table 12).

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128 As further evidence that lower Two Medicine and Birch Creek were the two most prosperous locations, I present additional data in Table 13, to show that no full-bloods were farming the best acreages and that only those of one-half or less Blackfeet ancestry had somehow managed to acquire control of these more productive locations.

[129] The farmers and ranchers listed in the two tables are the nineteen most prosperous allottees or spouses of allottees recorded in the

563
241 1921 Old Agency survey volume. These allottees and their spouses were clearly the most industrious and were in the proper locations for such undertakings. Agents who served before Campbell often commented that full-bloods were reluctant to farm, yet I believe the data presented in this chapter argue that many full-blood household heads did attempt to farm in rather high percentages (they made up 52 per cent of farmers in

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491 the Old Agency District). But, for reasons already given, they were not able to obtain sufficient capitalization to make their work truly profitable. Because of this, it is the full-bloods who were largely forced to joint co-ops, form multiple-family households, and struggle to

[118] realize a materially meager existence. This pattern prevails today, although it also involves many persons who are less than full-blood.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 92]

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Table 12

ACRES, CATTLE AND LOCATION OF FARMS AND RANCHES MANAGED BY WHITE MALES MARRIED TO BLACKFEET WOMEN, OLD AGENCY DISTRICT, 1921

Location	Number of Cattle or Sheep	Number of Acres Cultivated (wheat, oats, barley, alfalfa)
Two Medicine	235 (cattle)	20
Two Medicine	24 (cattle)	12
Two Medicine	- -	50
Birch Creek	42 (sheep)	45
Birch Creek	"a few cattle"	40
Birch Creek	- -	45
Birch Creek	- -	35
Birch Creek	- -	153
Birch Creek	- -	96

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

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Table 13

NON-WHITE FARMERS AND RANCHERS OF ONE-HALF OR LESS BLACKFEET BLOOD, DOMESTICATED ANIMALS, DEGREE OF BLACKFEET BLOOD, ACRES CULTIVATED AND LOCATIONS, OLD AGENCY DISTRICT, 1921

Location	Number of Cattle or Sheep	Number of Acres Cultivated (wheat, oats, barley, alfalfa)
Two Medicine (one-eighth Indian male spouse of Blackfeet allottee)	-	30
Two Medicine (one-half Blackfeet allottee)	234	(Some but unspecified)
Two Medicine (one-eighth Indian allottee)	(recently lost 100 cattle to bad weather)	30
Birch Creek (one-half Indian allottee)	(recently lost 100 cattle to bad weather)	30
Birch Creek (one-half Indian allottee)	-	120
Birch Creek (one-half Indian allottee)	-	20
Birch Creek (one-half Indian allottee)	40	70
Birch Creek (one-half Indian allottee)	"some cattle"	41
Two Medicine (one-half Indian allottee)	34 (sheep)	240
Two Medicine (one-eighth Indian allottee)	-	135

Chapter IV, which analyses a sample of Browning households, demonstrates a continuing low-order status of full-bloods in employment.

I do not know the status of the reservation lands in general in 1921, nor do I know the number of outsiders who leased reservation land or the acres these families used. I do know that many acres had been sold by allottees declared competent and who had been granted fee patent on their land. Nonetheless, I do not know how many white ranchers were leasing Indian lands in the two districts analyzed in this chapter and therefore I am unable to make any generalizations about who controlled most of the available strategic land resources. I do know, as explained and analyzed below, that of the tribal allottees who were engaged in farming and ranching the white male spouses of these allottees or near white allottees (one-half, one-eighth Blackfeet) controlled or owned by far the greater portion of the cultivated acres, domesticated animals, and available farming equipment and the best available land.

But in spite of these presumed "successful" farmers and ranchers, one cannot escape the realization that even 200 acres simply could not continue to serve an individual family in the United States economy. Agricultural and ranching enterprises have demanded greater and greater capital, and the emphasis today is on large outlays of funds for equipment and animals, and large tracts of land. The farm subsidy program is designed to award massive operations rather than small family farms (see Nelson 1954).

Furthermore, even the lower Two Medicine and Birch Creek areas,

233 67 less than the estimate for supporting a single family and only about
311 one-half the average of non-Indian stockmen.
423

Farm land use presents an even greater discrepancy. Again, in
241 1960, 175 non-Indian farmers cultivated 380,025 acres, an average of
311 2,171 acres, 893 acres above the 1950 average for Mountain States farms.
423 Forty Indian farmers cultivated 8,000 acres, an average of 200 acres.
177 In all, 885,975 acres of reservation land were used agriculturally in
434 1960, 478,025 by non-Indians and 407,900 by Indians. I add that per
241 acre yield in dollars is far higher from farming (mainly wheat farming)
233 than ranching, which means that non-Indians reap by far the greater
311 benefits. These facts result in part from the sale of fee patent land
563 by Indians, the greater knowledge and skills of non-Indians, the frac-
434 tionated nature of Indian lands, the low capitalization of Indians to
425 initiate and enlarge operations, and other factors such as education,
and probable ethnic or race bias in floating loans.

423 Indians, mixed-bloods and otherwise, continue to sell land,
425 although there was a moratorium on land sales during a period of a few
434 years. In 1970 over 9,000 acres of Heirship land were sold for badly
needed cash (Cut Bank Pioneer, July 20, 1970). Principally, off-reser-
vation ranchers and farmers made these purchases. Those I personally
know who have recently sold land use their cash receipts to make home
177 improvements or to purchase homes. Thus from these figures, we see
423 that the local metropolis (the small centers of financial wealth in
Montana) continues to encroach on reservation resources, gobbling the
meager land resources that remain and leaving economic prospects on the

reservation less and less promising for the majority of tribal members who remain.

One final remark regarding the economy of the Old Agency and Heart Butte districts in 1921 concerns the few full-time jobs. Table 14 lists all positions of full employment recorded in the survey volumes, the ages, location and degree of Blackfeet blood of each of the encumbents in those positions. The table shows that of the nine positions listed three (33 per cent) were held by Whites, a percentage similar to that shown in the number of total acres cultivated by Whites. Six positions were held by persons of one-half or less Blackfeet racial ancestry (66 per cent). Again, it is clear that Whites and other persons of one-half Blackfeet blood or less controlled a disproportionate share of available resources (jobs, acres, animals).

It is also worth pointing out that the median age of steadily employed males in 1921 (though the number is small) was 37.5 years, a figure which is quite close to the 41.9 median years for steady earners in 1966 among rural Blackfeet. The median age of farmers and ranchers in 1921 was 44.0 years; the four ranchers interviewed in 1966 were 41, 42, 68, and 72 years of age.

Economics--A Summary

Economic data and the posited relationships explicated to this point show the low order position of nearly all farmers and ranchers (compared, that is, with Mountain States figures of the time), with the full-bloods in the lowest position in all economic categories (acres,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 97]

128 livestock, jobs). It has been shown that meager agricultural resources
563 created mutual assistance co-ops, either in the form of multiple-family
511 units or small groupings of households. Those with the greatest re-
592 sources (except one ranching co-op) maintained independent households.
474 The relationships demonstrated show that in the past an underclass,
128 neo-colonial status, as it has been defined, prevailed for the majority
of rural reservation inhabitants; the data presented in Chapter II
241 demonstrate the persistence of this status up to 1970. The full-bloods,
735 and many others, were not able to marshall sufficient capital (land,
563 cash, equipment) to raise themselves above the underclass position.
More and more of the reservation land resources have come under the
control of off-reservation White ranchers, White men married to Indian
women on the reservation, and enterprising mixed-bloods. The majority
of those who attempted farming or ranching became discouraged by meager
511 capital and the vicissitudes of weather. The descendants of those left
behind in this process of narrow selection are today engaged in sharing,
for the most part, meager but different types of resources (wage labor,
welfare, and leased land revenues).

511 Because of increased population and no dramatic rise in per
128 capita resources, general material circumstances and conditions on a
178 relative basis do not seem to have improved, indeed, the situation
appears worse based on my analyses and criteria (household population,
the incidence of multiple-family households, cooperating inter-house-
592 holds clusters, and miscellaneous dependents). The household, its size,
182 composition and economic ties with other households, has proved to be a
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Table 26

RACIAL COMPOSITION AND LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT,
35 BROWNING EARNERS, 1967, 1968, 1970

	10 to 12 Months of Employment	Less than 12 Months of Employment	
Less than Full Blood	18	4	22
Full Blood	3	10	13
	21	14	35

$\gamma_c = .357$; $X^2 = 12.81$, P .001

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Table 27

RACIAL COMPOSITION AND AMOUNT OF EARNED INCOME,
35 BROWNING EARNERS, 1967, 1968, AND 1970

	$2,800 or More	Less Than $2,800	
Less than Full Blood	17	5	22
Full Blood	6	7	13
	23	12	35

$\gamma_c = .098$; $\chi^2 = 6.63$, P .01

The preceding tables demonstrate that earnings are most closely associated with the number of months of employment and less associated with educational experience; racial composition is associated with short-term employment, low earnings, and less education. These findings corroborate the results of comparable tests in Chapter III regarding strengths of association between racial composition and acres cultivated, as well as full-time employment in the 1921 sample. These results show that full bloods tend to hold the low income short-term jobs. In the past and present they are found at the bottom as measured by access to resources in the tests made in this study. These are crucial findings; they must always be kept in mind when any generalizations are made about the social organization (and hence kinship organization) of the reservation.

In Chapter III, I speculated about why the full bloods were less able or willing to farm more than meager acreages on the average. I cited language problems, hostility, timidity, and lack of business and agricultural experience. Today the situation is somewhat different. Almost a half century has passed since 1921 and the full bloods, according to my findings, remain in a relatively poor position. Full bloods, mixed-bloods and Whites are still competing for very meager resources. Tragically, the majority of full bloods continue to fall by the wayside because they do not have job experience, education (that is, quality education), and know-how for some occupations, especially the critical federal jobs which require some education and training. This is a circular process; if one cannot secure employment, he or she

178 cannot qualify for jobs, hence seasonal or employment results. It goes
563 on and on with each generation. Meanwhile, Whites and mixed-bloods are
461 entrenched in positions where they can assist their kin in obtaining the
182 few opportunities that are available. The majority of full bloods, therefore, continue to form an economic sub-stratum. That discrimination in hiring full bloods exists is unquestionable. But this does not always take the form of racial bigotry per se. It is more the result of meager economic opportunities for everyone and a form of competition which favors the abilities of Whites and mixed-bloods. It is these few Whites and mixed-bloods (and a very few full bloods) who climb up to a lower middle-class position on the reservation. The remainder are caught in an underclass position.

592 I have shown that economic factors strongly influence household
511 composition, as is the case in the rural sample. I have shown that in
182 Browning inter-household mutual economic assistance is rather commonplace among low-income related families, as was also found in the rural districts.

434 Length of employment is a strong determiner of amount of earned
464 income; racial composition is strongly associated with length of employ-
563 ment and income amount; and finally, educational and vocational training
811 are least though somewhat associated with full employment. The adult
182 male or female who works twelve months of the year, has eleven or more years of educational or vocational training and who is one-half or less Indian is most likely to be relatively successful in earning more than $2,800 per annum according to my findings.

592 178 735 because of a rise in population which entailed higher survival rates. Another cause of this increase is the continued but intensified occurrence of multiple-family households and miscellaneous household members brought about largely by the need to share scarce resources including ADC. Overall the relative economic situation has gotten worse, if one judges this condition on the basis of my hypothesis that mutual need creates a gathering of families under a single roof or adjacent to one another. I believe I have convincingly demonstrated my hypothesis.

434 592 178 In 1921 farming, limited as it was, formed an important part of the resources base for most families; federal annuities, ranching and very meager employment followed far behind. Today wage labor, welfare and leased land income form the resource base for most families. These resources are fluctuating in that often they are sparse, seasonal, or otherwise intermittent, necessitating the formation of mutual assistance groups by various kin and occasionally non-kin.

563 178 We also saw that those who cultivated the fewest acres in 1921 were full-blood Blackfeet, and I attempted to partially explain this phenomenon by citing their timidity, hostility, lack of skills and language barriers. Ethnic and racial bias based on skin color and behavior very likely played a part in how well or poorly the full bloods received the farming program. The most successful farmers and ranchers were White men married to allotted Indian women and mixed-bloods (one-half or less Indian but not White). I also attempted an explanation for their relative success by speculating that they had the skills, perhaps some initial capital, and escaped some of the racial bias

suffered by the full bloods.

Along with observations about demography I pointed out and analyzed a relative rise in the incidence of matrifocal and patrifocal households from 1921 to 1966 and that more and more of these result from marital separations. If these forms are part of a disorganization syndrome, as sociological studies imply, then they are another indication of worsening conditions.

The 1921 farming program largely failed, as was shown, principally because of poor capitalization. No farm was comparable in size to the 1920 average size of Mountain States farms. Most of the rural farmers could not compete with the increasing number of high-investment agricultural enterprises and declining prices after World War I.

The final chapter deals with a modest Browning sample of 39 households. Although the Browning family cycle is very similar to the rural family cycle, far fewer Browning households are multiple-family in composition. Available housing, the ease with which families can give and receive aid in a concentrated population likely curtail the incidence of multiple-family households. But cooperating kin units, forming small neighborhoods, are common and function much like the multiple-family households and land clusters in rural districts.

Median Browning household and family income are only slightly above the rural figures; per capita income is only about $150 more per year. Those in Browning who earn reasonable incomes are few in number in my small sample. Seven households, all of which are independent, receive almost half the total income for the entire sample and in these

592 434 households joint husband-wife earners are the rule. Overall income distribution in the Browning sample is similar to the rural distribution; earnings rank first, welfare second and leased land income third, although the proportions are somewhat better in Browning where 75 per cent instead of 50 per cent of the income is derived from earnings.

563 369 [434] [182] In Browning, as in the rural past, full bloods have least access to resources (mainly jobs) and I again attempted an explanation. Income in the Browning sample is associated least with education and training and most strongly with duration of employment. Racial ancestry correlated significantly with income; those who are one-half or less Indian get the steady jobs with the best pay.

592 369 429 Matrifocality in Browning and in the rural households occur at a rate of about twenty per cent. Young miscellaneous dependents outside the immediate nuclear family units occur at a very high rate in both Browning and the rural areas. These youngsters live with grandparents most often. They do so because they are oftentimes illegitimate children, or their parents are separated or because of overcrowding and insufficient funds in their natal home. Their presence in other households is often an economic asset to the hosting elders because ADC payments may be forthcoming. This exposure to a wide network of kin generates strong emotional attachments between youngsters and those who from time to time host them.

511 We have seen in this study how economically precarious the underclass position is. The existence of such a class on the reservation can more fully be described empirically using some of the data

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511 gathered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. For example, the Bureau re-
127 ported in 1969 that one-half of the on-reservation tribal members are
434 unemployed, and this figure includes only employables. Median family
127 cash income is reported to be $1,700 per year, with 4.9 persons forming
511 an average family (BIA 1969). On this basis the reported per capita income is an appalling $330, about $2,300 less than Montana's per capita income and about $2,800 less than the national average (SAUS
128 1968). My income figures are about double the Bureau's figures; I be-
434 lieve this is so because the Bureau does not report welfare and leased
511 land income in its per family median income. Yet even my reported $637 per capita income figure for the rural districts and $770 for Browning are distressingly meager. I realize that much if not all of the reservation is likely classified as rural and that the Montana-wide figure below includes the urban population, but I seriously doubt the rural Montana income is even remotely as low as the Blackfeet.

177 These conditions are no mere fluke of nature. The Blackfeet held
511 an enormous territory which was rich in natural resources, but most of this was soon lost after a succession of treaties. Eventually the tribe was restricted to land deemed least desirable by mining, ranching and farming lobbies. After the present boundaries were set and allotment undertaken, the per capita land base has narrowed with each succeeding generation.

433 In 1969 non-Indian gross agricultural sales from products raised
563 on the reservation amounted to $4,318,717, while Indian ranchers and farmers on the reservation realized a total gross income of $2,427,699

563 433 (Ibid.). This, like the figures given in Chapter III concerning Indian and non-Indian ranching and farming on the reservation, further illustrates how very narrow the resource base is for tribal members.

433 434 427 The following figures shed additional light on the reservation's economy. In 1970 individual Indian leases brought in $875,487, or about $136 per capita. This is an important figure. This income, small as it is, is vital to the tribal members who receive this form of revenue because, as we have seen, about twenty per cent of the rural family income is derived from this source, as is a significant portion of the Browning family income. Undesirable as the leasing of one's own land to others might be, tribal members do not wish to lose this income. Leasing fractionated land parcels is about the only way of realizing some income from the land. For this and other reasons termination of frederal services is a frightening prospect. [65]

316 427 433 I also note that mineral leases play an important role in the reservation economy, particularly in the funding of the tribal government. In 1969 more than $350,000 came to the tribe (not individuals) from this source, and individual mineral leases yielded $71,000 (Ibid.).

433 But all the resources cited (White-controlled or otherwise) would not support the on-reservation tribal members in a middle class style.

128 433 I now briefly describe the private business end of the reservation economy as a final observation. I do not include in these observations federal employment, which as we have seen, makes up a critical share of the Browning family incomes. Nor do I include some incidental sources

631 642 subsequent legislation have given to the Tribe a broader range of powers than is usually enjoyed by a local jurisdiction. But for a few limitations and some Federal review, the Tribe is autonomous.

692 Tribal courts are given jurisdiction over civil and criminal actions brought by an Indian against another Indian. The right of jurisdiction in the case of the "ten major crimes" committed by Indians on Indian reservations has been reserved by the Federal courts, but the balance of law and order matters are under tribal control. These are not subject to state or county regulation unless specifically turned over to such authorities, or shared concurrently with them, by an act of the Tribal Council and by an acceptance of these obligations by the county or state.[50]

563 [692] [651] Non-Indians living on the reservation are subject to county and state laws and enforcement. They are affected, in addition, by tribal regulations. The Tribe can regulate land use and impose taxes on non-members in the form of business licenses, camping fees, and hunting and fishing fees.

692 This overlapping jurisdiction in the area of law and order makes for a complex problem of law enforcement and requires guarded cooperation between tribal, county, state and Federal enforcement agencies. A breach of peace or a crime must be analyzed according to where it happened, and who was involved, to determine what level of enforcement has jurisdiction. Actions by other than the correct officers must be sanctioned by immediate or previous agreement between the various governing bodies.

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[50] Federal Indian Law, op. cit., p. 319.

692 The tribal and Federal regulations also affect non-members
[563] whenever these latter become involved in leases or other financial dealings with Indians, or where non-members become a party, injured or the injurer, in legal disputes, crime, or misdemeanors with members of the Tribe.

Social Ramifications

121 Tribal members vary greatly in the degree to which they are affected by being both "Indians" and residents of the reservation; These differences are of major importance to this study and are given careful examination in later chapters. There are, however, some general results that are common to all.

186 There are a few times that all members recognize themselves as Indians. This unity of identification is most often expressed at tribal election time, when the rallying cry is for "Indians" to support the candidate who will protect the tribal land base from exploitation by the "white man." Indian identification comes to the fore in any discussion of land leasing and use where the tribal member may be in competition with a non-member. Men, who otherwise seldom identify as Indians, remark that they have trouble in leasing land. "We Indians are supposed to have priority, but it's hard to get a lease away from a white man." Another informant complained: "I have to pay forty-five cents an acre for grazing land, while the white man gets it for thirty-one cents." Members are Indians according to their interests when reservation policies and programs are considered detrimental to those interests. The government and the white man become the field against which common Indian identification stands out.

14: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1960) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

. [1884-1960]

1905-1920

657 Progress in stock raising continued through 1905 and 1906.
427 The Agent persistently attempted to keep encroaching herds off Indian
[233] pastures, and continued a practice begun in 1904 of issuing leases and permits to both white and Indian stockmen for grazing privileges on tribal lands.[112]

657 The economic growth was again reversed by a severe winter in
731 1906 and 1907. The losses among the stock were heavy and "impoverished
[233] some of the industrious and worthy members of the tribe."[113] An
[433] investigation into conditions on the reservation was ordered, and the investigating officer's report sheds some light on the progress of economic adaptation to that time.

[461] He reported that the mixed bloods--about three-eights of the
[563] tribe--were able generally to take care of themselves, but the full bloods as a rule had little knowledge of ranch or farm work, were unwilling to stay a reasonable length of time in one place or to work where they could not be in parties, were very apt to quit on little or no provocation and regardless of the interests of the employer . . . .[114]

657 A Federal act of March 1907 provided for the allotment in
425 severalty of the Blackfeet reservation. Each tribal member would receive 280 acres of grazing land and 40 acres of irrigable land, or 320 acres of grazing land only. Surplus lands would be opened for

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[112] The first such permit recorded was a five-year lease of 2,400 acres to the Conrad Investment Company (Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, op. cit., 1904, p. 77). An increasing number of leases are reported for most of the following years.

[113] Ibid., 1907, pp. 13-14. [114] Ibid.

14: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1960) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

657 public settlement. An appropriation was included for the construction
[425] of an irrigation system for the lands to be allotted.[115] Allotment
[653] surveys and work on the irrigation projects were begun in the two years
[464] following the enactment of the legislation.[116] Irrigation construction provided an additional source of labor and income for many Indians.

657 The last annuities under the agreement of 1896 were paid in
433 1908. Henceforth Indian rations and aid were dependent upon tribal income, reimbursable government appropriations, and occasional relief measures. The unanalyzed statistics from the Agents' reports for the next few years give a picture of continuing economic progress for the tribe as a whole.

[464] The first World War relieved some of the pressure on reservation
[722] resources--good weather and abundant crops prevailed generally until 1917; livestock and produce found a ready market at high prices; and many Blackfeet were drawn into the armed forces, thereby reducing the local labor force. But all of this does not reflect accurately the condition of individuals. A process was going on that was slowly augmenting the population.

162 First, the population was growing--from 2,063 in 1905[117] to
● 563 2,957 in 1920--and becoming increasingly hybridized. Of the total, in 1920, less than half, or 1,141 persons, were full-bloods, while the balance were mixed. Among the mixed-blood population 956 were one-half

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[115] U.S., Statutes at Large, 1907, XXXIV, p. 1035.

[116] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, op. cit., 1908, p. 61; 1909, pp. 4-5.

[117] Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, op. cit., 1905, facing p. 16.

14: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1960) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

162 or less Indian.[118] Secondly, the individually owned herds were growing
563 and the returns from this business were high, but as the Superintendent
184 wrote in 1918, 3 per cent of the tribe owned 95 per cent of the stock
233 when he reported for duty in 1915.[119] An investigator for the Board of Indian Commissioners, in November of 1918, found that the full-bloods were divided as to their capabilities as stockmen. He reported that "about one-third of the 300 and more full-blood families is incapable of handling cattle." Another third probably could become cattlemen if properly instructed and supervised, and the balance of the full-bloods [563] were doing well at the industry. A number of mixed-bloods had built prosperous looking ranches and had made "marked successes at this business."[120]

657 Other forces were already at work that were to alter the uneven progress of the Blackfeet. Beginning in 1917, the Indian Bureau began pressing for the rapid reduction of Indian dependency by the removal [425] of "competent" Indians from trust status.[121] By 1920, 1,011 Blackfeet had been awarded fee patent title to 312,250 acres[122] under a policy that was to result in the alienation of reservation lands and the creation of a large number of landless Indians.

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[118] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, op. cit., 1920, p. 67.

[119] U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Indian Affairs, Blackfeet Indian Reservation, 65th Cong., 2d Sess., 1918, Sen. Rept. 451, p. 3.

[120] Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, op. cit., 1918, pp. 352-353.

[121] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, op. cit., 1917, pp. 3-5.

[122] Ibid., 1920, p. 171.

14: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1960) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

433 values. Generosity could still be practiced, but even this was made
177 difficult under the new conditions. The practice of generosity often blocked the economic success the Indians were asked to achieve. A good and generous man could not hoard his cattle when his family and friends were in need, yet if he was generous with his stock the herd was depleted and his enterprise failed.

The increased hybridization of the population was noted. This contributed to quite divergent home environments and socialization practices among the tribe.

177 All of these factors resulted in differing economic, social
184 and cultural adaptations, or differential acculturation among the tribal members. A few succeeded and many failed in subsistence endeavors. In varying degrees, some people retained Indian beliefs,
● [563] practices and values, while others turned to new ways. Still other members of the tribe, largely mixed-bloods, learned little or nothing of Blackfeet culture but were socialized in white ways.

128 Some of the results of these processes were described in Chapter III. In the following chapters the present community is examined in more detail, to show the type of social organization that has evolved in order to accommodate the varied sociocultural combinations that have developed during seventy-five years of change.

177 status factors also appear to be important determinants of Indian-
184 oriented participation in private activities.
574

Social Distance

186 The social division of the community is given overt, but
563 inexact, recognition by the use of the verbal labels--"mixed-blood" and "full-blood." These "racial" stereotypes are used in many contexts but in most cases point up a division in culture that is only partially related to the number of Indian ancestors of any individual.

[144] Evers remarks on the rapid hybridization of the tribe and the decreasing numbers of full-bloods, and he notes the tendency for the latter to consider themselves to be "the real Blackfoot Indians--the true descendants of the great warriors and wise leaders of old and the preservers of all that is left of Blackfoot Indian culture."[176] According to the stereotype, the full-blood is conservative and the [551] mixed-blood progressive. The surnames of the people still further label the difference--an English, French or American name implies mixed genetic heritage, while the Indian name (in its Agency recorded translation) is a badge of Indian heritage.

563 There are some grounds to support a popular notion of spatial
361 separation of the two groups. Generally the lands north of Browning are thought to be mixed-blood territory and the full-bloods claim the southern part of the reservation. Recent migrations of people have

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176 Evers, 1958, op. cit., pp. 327-328.

563 upset this balance but the idea lingers on as an element in social
361 separation. An increasing community feeling among concentrations of
[621] full-bloods at Starr School, Heart Butte, Little Badger, and some spatial clustering in Browning, is tending to replace the old regional division. Mixed marriages and shifting populations, however, are breaking down even these full-blood strongholds.

563 The full-blood-mixed-blood dichotomy is not equivalent to the
177 present categories of Indian and white orientation. Of the eight
184 Indian-oriented men in the probability sample, only four are full-bloods, while one full-blood is categorized among the twenty white-oriented people. But the popular full-blood and mixed-blood labels gain some validity when it is noted that the Indian-oriented of the sample are all three-quarters or more Indian, while the white-oriented men are, with the one exception, five eights or less.

563 Because such stereotypes exist it is easy to trace the results
186 of such conflict in an orientational context. A series of statements by informants illustrate the mechanisms of social distance that appear to be important in limiting close social interaction between people of the two orientation groups.

> "Full-bloods hate mixed-bloods. They are tainted with the blood of those who robbed and ruined the Indian."
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> An informant overheard a mixed-blood girl complain, "They [full-bloods] are to blame. In the old days when things were bad they sold their daughters to the white men. Now they hate us."
>
> A mixed-blood man said, "Full-bloods hate the mixed-bloods and would like to run them off the reservation. They get confused when I ask them, How about that white son-in-law of yours and your grandchildren? They finally decided that those were all right."

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One informant reported that little social distinction is felt by the children until they reach the upper grades. Then the more Indian children develop feelings of inferiority and inadequacy and drop out of school. "Much of the school problem is social," this informant states. "You see a bunch of grade school kids playing, mixed white and Indian and you stop and ask them who is white and who is Indian? They just stare at you. The question doesn't make sense. At high school things begin to show up. Mostly social. The kids begin to want to invite each other to affairs at home. They begin to notice that they haven't the kind of clothes others do. They begin to feel they can't participate and drop out."

A recent high school graduate (mixed-blood, white-oriented) could not offer any explanation of full-blood problems in the schools, either scholastic or social. He neither knew what the Indian boys in his class did or thought, nor could he say what had caused others he had known in the lower grades to drop out. His father explained this: "He doesn't go around with those fellows."

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"The full-bloods are forgotten. The half-breeds up north are running things for their own benefit."
--a full-blood

"Full-bloods probably expect to be discriminated against. They realize that they are in a different class, so act that way and so are discriminated against. They tend to stay by themselves."
--a mixed-blood

There is conflict between the full-bloods and the breeds. The latter are more progressive. They try to push things the old folks don't understand. It's not a caste division, just a mistrust of methods and plans.
--a full-blood

The elements of status, values and goals that underlie these attitudes will be examined further in the following chapters. The accounts are offered here to indicate that a bicultural division is recognized by the people themselves, that the two groups have been stereotyped and labeled, and that both spatial and social separation [571] have been attributed to these groups. One consequence has been a curtailment of social interaction between members of the two societies.

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The concepts of cultural orientation cannot be confused with the stereotypes. The real division is cultural. Orientational differences however tend to produce behaviors frequently attributed to the stereotype. "Full-blood" behavior in many dimensions is the behavior of an Indian-oriented person. People who are Indian-oriented, regardless of genetic heritage or degree of acculturation toward American life, will adopt practices that others attribute to "Indians." Then too it must be remembered that orientations are not indelible labels to apply to individuals, but are indicative rather of social structure. They stand for social categories for which there are predictable behavioral expectations, norms and underlying values. Individuals can move from one category to another by conforming to the proper set of norms and expressing the values common to that category. The degree of Indian "blood" does not "tell."

Summary

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The Indian-oriented and white-oriented people have been shown to engage in social interaction most frequently with members of their own group. A series of public, formal and informal social situations was reviewed, some of which were attended predominantly by Indian-oriented people, others by white. Another list of public gatherings was given in which attendance from the two groups was relatively equal. It was shown further that informal grouping at these affairs tended to be with people of like orientation. An additional tendency for limitations upon intergroup sociality was observed in informal and private entertaining and visiting, and the overt recognition of this social separation was commented upon.

14: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1960) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

Hybridization

177 The frequent and increasing intermarriage between Blackfeet
121 and white persons has resulted in the reduction of the full-blood
144 proportion of the tribal population to approximately ten per cent of the total. In addition, perhaps one-third of the mixed-blood tribal members are of one-fourth or less degree Indian. This predominance of genetically mixed members of the tribe has important implications for an acculturation study.

Hybridization and White-Orientation

563 Hybridization has provided many families with the "white model"
177 that Bruner considers an important element in the acculturative effects
121 of early socialization.[207] In addition it has led to a condition in which there are members of the white-oriented society who are not "Indians" who have adopted white ways. Many white-oriented people are defined accurately as white persons who happen to have had an Indian grandparent on one or both sides of the family, and who now live on the reservation and retain tribal membership.[208] Neither these persons nor their parents moved from an Indian toward a white way of life; neither generation knew Indian traditions and all were socialized within their parent European or American culture.

These people cannot be defined out of the population for acculturation research, however, because they are a part of the total

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[207] Bruner, op. cit., pp. 608-609.

[208] At least twelve of the twenty white-oriented cases would fit this category--cases 5, 6, 7, 13, 19, 21, 25, 30, 31, 34, 45, and 46.

563 field. They are involved actively in tribal affairs and development,
177 are parents of other present and future tribal members, and are models
121 of the white-oriented form of adaptation for the acculturation of other people. Then, too, a comparison of the present-day tribe and its cultural complexities, with the tribe and its culture as they were in 1880, reveals much about the direction and degree of tribal acculturation. The role that such persons play in the ongoing acculturation of the Blackfeet should be made the central problem of future study.

Hybridization and "Marginality"

177 The Blackfeet population may be hybridized to a greater extent
563 than the Menomini, Mandan-Hidatsa and the Crow. This may account for
121 the failure to recognize a group among the Blackfeet that could be
171 called marginal, either in the sense of Voget's "American-marginals," where barriers of discrimination to their full participation with the dominant society tends to make them "social isolates, truly between two societies,"[209] or like the Menomini "transitionals" who identify neither with Indians nor whites, and "are culturally and socially suspended between two ways of life."[210] The Blackfeet "white-oriented," the people most like the Crow "American-marginals," are numerous and not dependent upon the social support of either the Indian-oriented or
177 the white American societies. It is true that these people aspire to
563 complete participation with their white neighbors, and that some persons
121 feel the effects of discrimination more than others, but the group, as a

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[209]Voget, op. cit., p. 92. [210]Spindler, op. cit., p. 1.

14: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1960) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

177 whole, is perceived as a self-sufficient segment of the dominant
563 society. The Indian-oriented society, numerically smaller, is still
121 sufficiently homogeneous to give mutual social support to even its low status members. Neither general poverty nor a social and cultural separation from the mainstream of American life has suspended this group, or its individual members, between two societies, or between a past Blackfeet and a present American culture.

If this is a correct interpretation of the Blackfeet situation, it suggests that studies of alcoholism, personality disorders, and social problems among the Blackfeet or similar populations should first investigate the stresses within the sociocultural context of the particular society of which an individual is a member, and only afterward examine acculturative stresses upon the group and the individual. It could be posited that many personal and social problems of the Blackfeet have their roots in the general poverty on the reservation, and acculturation processes enter in largely as they relate to the existence and continuation of poverty.

Population hybridization appears to be of sufficient importance to merit further and more specific research into the part it has played in the acculturation of this and similarly mixed tribal populations.

Differential Acculturation

177 The process of differential acculturation was mentioned
184 frequently throughout the study, particularly during the examination
121 of the history of readaptation in Chapter V. The Blackfeet varied greatly in their success at new subsistence techniques; a few succeeded at ranching and farming while others met with less or no success.

investigations in the winter of 1853 and the late summer of 1855 revealed. It appears most probable that at that time the great majority of the bands of the three Blackfeet tribes wintered on the Marias River and northward, while on their summer hunts they moved northward into the British Possessions where Doty found them in the summer of 1855, and where Stanley had found the Piegan two summers before. 175 131 221

They did come south to trade at Fort Benton in late winter, but there seems to be no positive evidence that they made much use of their territory south of the Marias for hunting or collecting at any season of the year. The Small Robes band appears to have been an exception. They definitely wintered near Fort Benton in 1854-5. On July 24, 1860, Lt. John Mullins met this band near the Judith Mountains south of the Missouri River. He reported: [439]

"They proved to be the 'little Robes', a band of the Blackfeet Indians. They were delighted to meet me, and I accompanied them to their village, half a mile distance, where, to my surprise, I saw waving from the top of the chief's tent the Star-Spangled banner. I counted 54 lodges, and estimated the number of the Indians to be about 150 or 200 ... I was enabled to talk with them through my guide and interpreter, James Bridger, who spoke the Flathead language and was readily understood as there were several members of the band who were Flatheads and could interpret to the rest." (Reynolds, 1868, pp. 163-4). 175 [162] [563]

[p. 125]

B 648 175 131 221 [162] [563]

Possibly the continued friendship with the Flathead caused the Small Robes to summer south of the Missouri where they could visit with the Flathead when they came over the Rockies to hunt buffalo along the Musselshell. It is possible some of the 54 lodges seen by Lt. Mullins were occupied by Flathead visitors. Agent Vaughan estimated the Piegan (both North and South) at 460 lodges. (Annual Report Comm. Ind. Aff., 1860, p. 308). The 54 lodges in the Small Robes camp that summer must have comprised less than 10% of the total Piegan population.

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It appears probable that the Commissioners of the 1855 Treaty with the Blackfoot Nation extended the boundary of these people southeastward to meet and conform with the northwestern boundary of the Crow territory as defined in the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851. (See Reyes Area 517). If so this boundary was located by precedent rather than on the basis of Indian occupancy at the time of the 1855 treaty.

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As an instrument of intertribal peace the 1855 treaty with the Blackfoot was unsuccessful. Agent Hatch reported that Blood Indians war parties started for the Crow camps within ten days of the signing of the treaty and that many others followed. The haughty Blood warriors passed through Piegan and Gros Ventre camps and ridiculed them for listening to the advice of the whites. (Annual Report Comm. Ind. Affairs, 1856, pp. 75-76). That same winter the Blackfeet were fighting the Assiniboin on their eastern front. (Montana Hist. Soc. Contribs., Vol. X, p. 157). Peace with the tribes west of the Rockies lasted but little longer. John Owen, trader among the Flathead wrote on June 30, 1860, "Since the treaty of /55

361 Creek in 1883.
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101 Moccasins Band under Little Dog.

[363] Below them in the area of the crossing of the present highway from Great Falls to Browning lived the Piegan's "white brother-in-laws", the squaw men with their Indian wives and mixed-blood children.

Below them was the Old Agency and near it about 100 cabins built to house the old people when Old Agency was first built (1879).

[621] The Small Robes lived near Old Agency but the band was in process of breaking up as a residential unit, and its members were going to live with other bands.

[443] About a mile east of Old Agency on the flat south of Badger Creek was the trading post operated by Joe Kipp.

Just east of the trading post the Buffalo Dung Band was settled.

Below them were some of the older people of the Black Patched [178] Moccasins Band. On the flat south of this group was the site of the [237] first medicine lodge in which cattle tongues were employed as sacred [778] food the summer after the buffalo disappeared.

Below this locality lived another group of the Buffalo Dung Band under Shorty White Grass.

Below them lived the easternmost band on Badger Creek, a small group, constituting all that was left of the Bugs Band after

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

defying the police to bring him to justice. Other forms of defiance that showed courage according to Indian ideas were shooting cattle, stealing whiskey, and disobeying white injunctions to remain on the reserve.

Even more disconcerting for the whites than these minor forays was the second Riel uprising of 1885. The white population was outnumbered, especially if all the Indians of the Northwest were to unite. It did not know the country so well, and had less to lose by defeat. Panic seized the whites and volunteer brigades were organized in all towns for defence. When the Cree chief Poundmaker sent an emissary to Crowfoot asking for help, white officials held their breath. Rations were increased, and extra merchandise was distributed to pacify the Blackfoot. Father Lacombe was sent to exert his influence on Crowfoot. To the great relief of all concerned Crowfoot refused to co-operate with the Crees, saying, "This is your war. We have made peace with the whites." Wishing to benefit by Blackfoot loyalty, a few whites suggested inducing the Blackfoot to rekindle their latent hostility toward the Crees and join forces with the government. Though it would not have been difficult to enlist the services of many, the conservative white leaders, fearing that the Blackfoot might not stop fighting after having put down the insurgents, refused permission.

For the most part the rebellion passed the reserve quietly. Parents used it as a pretext to withdraw their children from the newly-founded missionary school, and some chiefs showed their sympathetic generosity by caring for a little group of Cree women and children which had escaped from the battle zone in the north. Rested and comforted, many of the refugees went on to the United States, but some remained with the Blackfoot. A few with their descendants, even though always specified as Crees, live on the reserve today, and have married Blackfoot. Crowfoot's trip in 1887 to Ottawa on the new railway was ordered by the government largely in appreciation of Blackfoot loyalty to the government during the Riel uprising. The well-phrased words that Father Lacombe translated to the velvet-coated officials convinced all that Her Majesty's munificence had not been wasted on an unappreciative savage.

Those who did not try the warpath as a means for showing their worth turned to a new kind of competition. With food issued weekly, and the old activities of hunting unnecessary or impossible, the Indians found themselves with time on their hands. In former days these were the occasions for dancing and celebration. Consequently,

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

565 ments we deduce three main criteria of class: (1) the amount of property either in horses or cash; (2) the use of this wealth to buy sacred objects and society memberships; (3) the maintenance of good relations with other persons through generosity and social grace.

Of ten high-class people mentioned by an informant, eight own horses, cattle, and land, or make up for the lack of one of these by large holdings of horses and cattle, or land and horses. Of the remaining two, one has little property but a good number of religious possessions to his credit. The other, now relatively poor in property, has owned more sacred objects and society memberships than any other person on the reserve. The persons considered to be in the middle-class are invariably small property owners, but they also have owned some sacred objects and belong to societies. Of eight low-class people only one is moderately well off in that his son owns land, cattle, and horses. All others own little property. Their purchases of sacred objects are few, as are their memberships in societies. Two are Crees from the Cree minority on the reserve ("Crees" [562] involves all the disabilities of a minority group) and this may par- [556] tially reflect an old prejudice. Thus wealth seems to be an important aspect of class in Blackfoot society.

There is also a connotation of inferiority in the term "low-class." To be low-class or poor implies that one is lazy and has little ambition. On the other hand, to be rich implies that one has worked hard to acquire his property. So convinced are the Blackfoot that a man through personal industriousness can penetrate the barriers between classes, that they believe that those who do not meet this challenge prove themselves *ipso facto* inferior.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

This type of relationship does not obtain between the reserves with culture foreign to the Blackfoot, though a few Blackfoot have gone to Hobbema to witness the Sun Dance there. Even reserves with foreign cultures may furnish other Indians with havens; the Cree on their way to visit relatives at the Rocky Boy reservation in Montana frequently pass several nights on the Blackfoot reserve. Once a Blackfoot refugee from justice presented himself to a chief on a Dakota reserve in Saskatchewan, where he was accorded temporary refuge.

Permanent change of residence from one reserve to another is rarer than visiting because of legal complications. To change residence automatically disqualifies an individual from receiving benefits of the trust fund, and this most Blackfoot are loath to do. On the other hand the fame of the trust fund has spread far. There are many who would like to receive these benefits but the agent and the council of chiefs guard the Blackfoot interests rather jealously. For an outside male to marry a Blackfoot woman and reside on the reserve is difficult. Permission of the agent and the council of chiefs is required, and they are reluctant to extend permanently the reserve benefits to outsiders. Where permission has been granted, it has been mostly to other Blackfoot-speaking Indians. However, when an outside woman marries a Blackfoot, she is immediately eligible for rations and annuities when the marriage has been confirmed by the agent. Because of this opening many women from other tribes reside on the Blackfoot reserve. A sly Blackfoot saying runs that, if a man marries a woman off the reserve, he was unacceptable to Blackfoot women. This does not apply to the Blackfoot-speaking reserves so much as to the Sarsi and Cree. Nevertheless, many Cree and a few Sarsi women are receiving rations as if they had always resided on the reserve. For them, divorce or separation means loss of status as a reserve member, unless the marriage has been of long duration.

Attitudes towards the various reserves derive from a number of considerations, among which wealth, size of population, and the adherence to similar Indian ways of life seem most important. Because of common cultural heritage the Blackfoot-speaking reserves stand in the most favoured positions. The near-by Blood and North Piegans of Southern Alberta are known more intimately and received more warmly than the South Piegans from Montana. Members of wealthy and enterprising families on the Blood reserve

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

who can afford to buy new automobiles are envied by the Blackfoot. In general the North Piegans are deemed to be the poorer relations, while the South Piegans have the reputation of being modern and sporting, thus less true to Indian ways. The Athabascan-speaking Sarsi, members of the erstwhile Blackfoot confederacy now living near the reserve, are considered frail cousins who should be helped. Crees are respected for their continuation of Indian ways of life but disdained for their poverty. The Stoney Indians are regarded as persons of inferior culture who have aped the Blackfoot. Beyond these tribes, all located within a radius of one hundred and fifty miles, there is little intercourse. An exception was a fairly recent visit to the Crow reserve, after which the Blackfoot returned with enthusiastic accounts of their former feared enemies.

In view of the difficulties of obtaining membership on this reserve and the lack of cordiality accorded Crees in general, it is interesting to note that a group of Crees has permanent residence on the Blackfoot reserve. Even before the treaty Cree children had been adopted by Blackfoot. On the Cree trek south after the second Riel rebellion a few women remained on the reserve, though the main body fled to the United States and became the nucleus of the Cree group in Montana. These women were quickly assimilated to reserve life. In 1920 the council of chiefs took up the question of admitting to reserve membership a few families of the so-called "wandering Crees." These Indians were residuals and descendants of a band which in 1876 had refused participation in Treaty No. 6 which dispossessed the Crees. We do not know the considerations that led to the final acceptance of these people by the council of chiefs. A reasonable hypothesis is that in their wanderings they had become a nuisance for both Indian and white communities near which they camped; as full-blooded Indians they were properly wards of the government; they had suffered adequately for their resistance to authority, were now eager to be settled on a reserve of their choice and no doubt were attracted by the wealth of the Blackfoot reserve. With official sanction by the agent acting under recommendation from Ottawa, the chiefs were urged to admit the few applicants. It is possible that the chiefs were influenced not only by agency pressure but by Crowfoot's precedent of treating the Crees kindly, by a certain solidarity among all Indians, and by a feeling of pity mingled with admiration for these Indians in particular. They had courageously kept aloof from reservations and

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

563 government charity for over forty years, surviving as best they could. Admission was granted to these families and subsequently to a few others of the same band.

Today these Indians constitute a special group which lives somewhat apart and is identified as "Cree" by the Blackfoot. They are distinct from the Cree wives of Blackfoot and the descendants of adopted Crees whose past affiliation with Crees, though recognized, does not constitute a basis for special social status. The new-comers receive all the benefits of the Blackfoot trust fund. They have constructed their own coal-mine and continue their own ceremonials. 563 796 Indeed, they use for their own purposes the Sun Dance lodge that has been erected by the Blackfoot for Blackfoot rituals. In 1939, with no Sun Dance vower from the majority group, the Crees offered to save the day by holding the ceremonies according to their tradition. Some Blackfoot participated with interest, most were grateful and somewhat satisfied at having a "sort of a Sun Dance," but many were arrogantly critical of these proceedings. The Crees, on the defensive, resolved to impress these spectators with the ceremonial rigours and the strength of their power. One night, after the chief vower had fasted for more than forty-eight hours, in the presence of a few curious spectators the aged vower was said to have made the moon dance to the beat of his drum. Respect for the Crees rose perceptibly, and though this group is treated by local reserve residents as inferior, it is now probable that as its economic position improves, differences will disappear.

Social Structure and Kinship

594 592 [829] The band having disappeared, there remains as the present nucleus for living the individual family of husband, wife, and children. However, it is unusual for a family to remain long so small as this, for people consider themselves lonely and isolated under these circumstances. Only the recluses or very poor live alone with 596 their wives and children. As we have noted, a young man and his wife will come to live with an older brother or one of the husband's brothers-in-law. In this household the two men help each other with the work in the fields, while their wives collaborate on baby [178] care and household chores. Such a system is a direct continuation [593] of the time-honoured kinship obligations between brothers, and between a man and his sister's husband or his wife's brother. [607]

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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A mixed-blood mother and daughter of the Blackfoot, around 1920. The woman's husband was Thomas Magee, the local postmaster and druggist, and an ardent photographer who recorded many tribal events on film that might otherwise be lost. While some mixed-bloods in the early reservation years despised their Indian ancestry and heritage, others became very active in the traditions and helped to carry them on to the present. The best of the early written records of Blackfoot life were all done with much help from knowledgeable mixed-bloods. (PHOTO: THOMAS MAGEE)

[p. 168]

Black coffee or tea is often drunk instead of plain water, though most everyone knows that water is healthier. 512 272

Two more criers made their way around the camp circle. One announced the name of the person whose tipi would be the meeting place for the future Horns. The other crier called out the names of two members, inviting one to visit the other. Even though PitachPikis was recognized as the camp's main crier, anyone could announce something the others should know. Generally, certain recognized Old Men were asked to make the announcements. For this favor they were given a present of tobacco, food, or money. 512 203 [887] [431]

It was about midday when SikskiAki lit our fire again to put a kettle of soup over it. Earlier, we had invited our friend Albert Wolf Child to come over for lunch and a visit. Albert is the grandson of the man whose common name, Wolf Child, is now a last name for his descendants. When our People first settled on the reserve, government officials arbitrarily assigned family names based on the common name of the head of the family. Unfortunately, the man who interpreted all these names was not fully familiar with the complicated Blackfoot language. He was a Negro named Dave Mills, who was married to a Blood woman. His descendants are now active members of the tribe. Dave Mills was well liked by the Old People, even though he did not adopt their traditions. They gave him the name Young Scabby Bull. 512 [574] 551 553 [563]

WOLF OLD MAN VISITS

While SikskiAki went next door to invite PitachPikis to join us, Albert Wolf Child arrived. He hesitated until I pointed to the seat at my left. Just as he sat down, the door curtain opened wide. It was our grandfather, Wolf Old Man, thrusting his two canes through the opening and carefully lifting his legs over the canvas that formed the base of the doorway. His brother, his 574

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

moved on to trap and hunt northward and then cross back to their reservation in British Columbia by way of Crowsnest Pass. Somewhat later, after well caching my boat, I moved back to Two Medicine Lodges River and the agency, there to await the coming of Grinnell for another month in the mountains. He arrived early in September, and with him came one of his close friends, George H. Gould, of Santa Barbara, California. With team and wagon, a good camp outfit, groceries, and saddle horses, Jack Monroe and I met them at the agency, and on the following evening we were again in camp just below the foot of Upper St. Mary Lake and on the west side of the river.

George Gould was somewhat of an invalid. Accompanied by Jack Monroe, he hunted and fished near camp, while Grinnell and I ranged farther afield. Again we climbed to the top of Flat Top Mountain; on the shale slope of Singleshot Mountain he killed another fat bighorn, a ram of four years, a welcome addition to our larder. On one unforgettable day we saddled up early and struck out upon the trail running up the west side of the upper lake. The Kutenai Indians had told me that it was one of their own trails, that it ran up to the head of St. Mary River and on through a good pass to west-side Sacred Dancing Creek and Sacred Dancing Lake (McDonald's Lake). A ride of an hour and we crossed the creek that we had named for our friend, *Otokomi*, "Yellow Fish," and a little farther on, at the narrows of the lake, were faced by a high rock ledge up which the trail ran in zigzag ascent. We got off our horses and led them up it—along the edges of little cliffs, across steep rock slides, up two- or three-foot-high steps of rock that they had to jump—and so going, breathless and perspiring, we made the top and paused to rest, agreeing that the trail up the ledge was the most dangerous for horses of any that we had ever known.

Taking to the trail again, we followed it along the slope of the mountain next south of the one that we had named for Yellow Fish. For years afterward it was spoken of as Yellow Fish Mountain, Rose's Mountain, our friend's English name. But on the map of Glacier Park it is now Whitefish Mountain, and his creek is Roes Creek—names without any significance whatever. Charles Rose, now (1936)

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

563 in his seventy-ninth year, is a respected, influential member of the Pikuni tribe of the Blackfeet. His father, Albert Rose, was for years a trusted employee of the American Fur Company, and as such, one of the builders of Fort Benton. Charles early married *Ahkai Sinahki*, 000 a worthy daughter of Chief Running Crane. Their good son William is anxious to have his father's name restored to the mountain and the creek that Grinnell and I named for him in the long-ago. We are many who hope that the park map makers will make the change.[2]

There was much sign of bighorns and goats in the trail that we were following along the mountainside, but look as we would, not one of the animals could we see. It was well past noon when we arrived at the end of the mountain and, at the brink of a fine stream putting into the lake from the north, got out of the saddle to eat our lunch and rest. There for the first time we obtained a good view of the head of the lake and noted a long white streak in its blue water —the glacial water of the river putting into it. And beyond, at the head of the valley, only a few miles away, were the glaciers—one of them, apparently, several miles wide. Said I, excitedly: "Fisher Hat, there *is* a glacier and a valley for us to explore; we'll get right at it." Grinnell sighed. "Would that we could, but our friend Gould isn't strong enough for the undertaking. We will have to postpone it until next fall."

Long we sat there taking in the beauty, the grandeur of the scene, and so interested in it all that we nearly forgot to eat our sandwiches. At last I got out my telescope and focused it at the upper reaches of the mountain along which we had come, and so discovered, one after another, three bands of goats along it. The first and nearest one, a band of eleven old males, was resting upon the shelf of a cliff —one of them sitting, doglike, upon his haunches and peering at the slope below. The two other bands were females and their young, yearlings and two-year-olds. We saw that it would be impossible to get within range of the first band, so got onto our horses and turned back on the trail to see what we could do with the second band, just going out of sight in a depression in the slope and close to the

[2] They have not done so; the maps still bear the names Whitefish Mountain and Roes Creek.

tered along the River for a distance of 12 miles. They consist of about 200 lodges of South Piegans and 80 lodges of North Piegans & Blackfeet. The Lame Bull's camp of 62 lodges was about the centre, and here I invited the principal chiefs to meet me. At 10 A.M. they had assembled, and I stated to them fully the object of my visit. The Chiefs names are as follows, and they rank as they are placed, viz, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc.

The Lame Bull Mountain Chief Middle Sitter The Iron Shirt Kitch-e-pone-istah[10] Heavy Shield The White Bull	South Piegans excepting the Mountain Chief, a North Piegan.
The Fox	Blood Indian.
The Star Robe The Iron Flag	Gros Ventres now joined with the Piegans.

And there were present twenty-two other Chiefs and head men.

It is presumed to be unnecessary to state in detail my remarks to the Indians. The Council, the benefits accruing to them in case they made a Treaty and faithfully observed its stipulations, and the necessity that all the Blackfeet who hunt or trade on American soil should be present at the Council, were fully explained.

The question was put to them—after stating the proposition of bringing the Crow Indians into the Council—whether they would guarantee them safety in person and property. They were made to understand that the persons and property of all the Western Indians who visited the Council, were under the protection of the Commissioners, who looked to the chiefs of the Blackfoot Nation to prevent their young men from injuring

[9]*Star Robe was considered to be the wealthiest Indian among the Gros Ventres. He signed treaties with the American government in 1855, 1865 and 1868.*

[10]*Spotted Calf. This may have been the chief who signed Treaty No. Seven in 1877 under the name of Running Rabbit. He was of mixed Peigan and Blood background and, after living with the Bloods until 1882 he moved permanently to Montana.*

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

between us, translating. The meeting was brought to order, and what followed—excepting that it was conducted in two languages—might have taken place at any business meeting. A motion was made and carried to reimburse someone for damage to a tape recorder which he had loaned to the Council. They gave him full price for the recorder, but it was not stated whether the recorder was to become the property of the Council. It was decided that the contract of the tribal lawyer would not be renewed. 122 643

Spectators were allowed to voice grievances and opinions, and a man that looked White but who apparently had enough Indian blood to qualify as a tribal member, stood up and complained that his commercial lease on St. Mary's Lake had been snatched from under him and given to a wealthy White corporation. The man with the cigarette explained to the complainant the actualities of the lease situation.

The whole proceeding was very pettifoggerish and un-Indian, and I sighed to think that these thirteen men should control the destinies of thousands of Indians. But then, should I desire to sigh even more deeply, I need only turn my gaze toward the Great White Council in Washington.

Eventually, a discussion of real interest got under way. In the past, apparently, anybody with a drop of Blackfoot blood was able to call himself a Blackfoot Indian (when convenient) and walk off with a share of the tribal funds. The Chief is a leader in the fight to put a stop to this. The suggestion is that from now on a person must be at least one-quarter Blackfoot in order to qualify for tribal membership. If a Blackfoot man marries a White girl, the children are to be considered a part of the tribe. But if a Blackfoot girl marries a White man, the children (who are legally privileged with all the rights of U.S. citizenship) are not to have in addition those rights reserved for Indians. This, I think, is reasonable and fair. [563] [641]

During the discussion, the Chief arose and offered his opinions in his usual fiery manner. His oratory rocked the room, and I was very proud of the old fellow. However, Earl Old Person, who is the official translator, refused to translate the Chief's comments into English (not all members of the Council understand Blackfoot), stating that the Chief did not understand the situation at hand. I am developing definite reservations about Earl. Jimmy has had them right along.

There was an adjournment for lunch, but I did not eat because I detest cheap restaurants. After dropping the boys back at the 122